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MAY 20. 1775
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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth

COLLECTED AND EDITED

BY

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CORRESPONDENCE OF JONATHAN WORTH.

From W. B. Stipe.

LEWISVILLE N. C. *June 30 1866.*

Enclosed I send a note which I wrote for one John Cosby, a Freedman of your City which I hope your Excellency will contrive [to get] to him and excuse me for troubling you with it. George is a bricklayer and plasterer and I wish to employ him and feared if I wrote to him direct he might fail to get the letter and your Excellency being the only man with whom I am well acquainted in the City and on whom I could rely I have concluded to trouble you with it.

He formerly belonged to the widow Cosby and lived in the west end of the city on a street leading from Hillsborough Street to the depot.

I was very happy indeed to learn that you are again a candidate for Governor.

The people in my section of the State are very well satisfied with the able manner in which the onerous duties of the Executive office have been discharged and I have every reason to hope that your support will again be almost unanimous with us.

With my respects and best wishes I must close.

To P. H. Winston.

June 30 1866.

New views make me desirous of official interview with you. Can you come here by early train and be my guest during your stay?

KITTRELL'S

36083

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *July 1, '66.*

Yours of the 29th is just received. I will see in the morning what can be done in regard to the Collectorship at Wilmington. But for the determination of the Sec. of the Treasury to put Fuller in, he would have had no chance. Some of the Ship Masters complain that Fuller and his deputy are in the habit of "gouging" them, by making extra fees, such as compelling a man to take a temporary Register when he could just as well issue the permanent Register at once.

The Ex. P. G. is here but has not paid his respects to me. The *Sentinel's irony* about the *most popular* appointment will not be understood out of the State.

To W. H. Seward.[1]

July 1866

Asking for pardon of Josiah Turner.

There were but three men in the Legislature of this State in 1860-61 who stood out against Secession and every measure tending to a disruption of the Union till hostilities actually commenced and even afterwards. These three men were Sharpe, of Iredell, who died last year, Hon. Josiah Turner, of Orange, and myself. We three alone voted even in May 1861 against the call of a Convention to pass an ordinance of Secession. The yeas and nays called on all these questions show our votes.

After hostilities commenced Turner entered the army on the Southern side, was severely wounded soon afterwards and left the service. He became a candidate for the Confederate Congress, and in a district composed of a very large majority of democrats and Secessionists he was

[1] This letter was written between the 1st and 3d of July.

elected. He constantly combatted the doctrine of Secession and in the Confederate Congress of 1864 and 1865 constantly urged a pacification on the basis of preserving the Union. He and Sharpe and I were Whigs of the original pannel—firm—many said—obstinate in our adhesion to the principles of that party. And here let me say digressively, as strongly indicative of the Union proclivities of North Carolina that the trio have been constantly popular favorites after the first ebullitions in 1861. After the close of the war Turner filed his petition for pardon. He always in season and out of season denounced the Democratic party as the source from which Disunion sprung. In this petition he went out of the way to assail democracy. Prior to 1860 Mr. Holden, editor of the *Standard* newspaper, had been a leading Democrat and Secessionist. In 1860 he abandoned his party and became an earnest advocate for the preservation of the Union. The antagonism between Turner and Holden prior to 1860 had been so vehement as to amount to personal hatred. After Holden became an advocate for Union, there was a superficial truce between them. The *Standard* even advocated Turner's election to the Confederate Congress over his secession opponent. The reconciliation was never Cordial. During the latter years of the war the *Standard* advocated "peace and Independence". Turner regarded this position as mischievious, and went for Vance in preference to Holden for the Governorship in 1862. Mr. Holden as Provisional Governor refused to recommend Turner for pardon, on the ground, as I understand, that he regarded his petition as a "bill of indictment against the Democratic party". He has not been pardoned. In the meantime, other members of the Confederate Congress, who had been constant Secessionists, were pardoned—for instance, Bridgers, Arrington, Venable, Lander—and many other conspicuous Secessionists, all of whom were recommended for pardon I believe, by Govr. Holden.

I believe there is not a more reliable union man in North Carolina, than Turner. The discrimination against him is the subject of much commentary in the State. Will you not interest yourself and have his pardon issued? It would give universal satisfaction except to a few who feel personal malice against him. If the form of his petition be the only obstacle, I will endeavor to get him to withdraw it, if this be allowable. I do not write this letter at his request or with his knowledge. I am prompted to do it by my regard for him personally and politically and beacuse I am sure it would greatly increase the already cordial feeling of our people towards the President. The whole State would bless him if he would issue pardons of Graham and Dortch—The former a Union man until the war begun—the latter a moderate Secessionist. I cannot conceive what rule of policy can make it expedient to withhold their pardons, after Bridgers, Venable, Arrington and Lander are pardoned. If their pardons were issued their powerful voices will be raised at once in favor of the national Union party. Graham ought to be a member of that Convention.

The courteous manner in which you have treated me has emboldened me to obtrude on you in this long communication—If it shall not meet with your approval I shall regret it.—It has been written without the knowledge of any person whatever. If you deem it expedient you may submit it to the perusal of any body, or do any thing with it which to you may seem proper.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

From Charles C. Clark.

NEWBERN, *July 3, 1866.*

Regarding railroad directors and State proxy.

Yours of the 1st was received last mail.

I am wholly unable to make any recommendation for Assessor, because I have no acquaintance with the char-

acter and qualifications of men who could take the oath It does not matter who may receive the appointment. The oath has to be taken and the people are indifferent between parties who can take it.

No dissatisfaction that I know of exists in regard to the appointment of Directors. The State's proxy, by a too exclusive intercourse and cooperation with *one* set of men, called forth expressions of discontent as to his appointment; yet, I think, a little time will wear this away.

Having been confined to the house since my return from Beaufort, by bilious indisposition, I have not had my usual promiscuous interchange of opinion, and am, therefore, ignorant of "the effect produced on the other side." As soon as I am well enough, I will advise you on this point. I may say, however, that, up to this time, I know of nothing at all unfavorable.

You represent me very truly, in attributing to me a disposition to allay all strife between rival points on the road. It is unfortunate that any should have existed. The race of improvement is pre-eminently one of capital, industry and enterprise combined, and the perseveringly legitimate use of advantages which Nature may have generously bestowed. These, certainly should not be fettered, or restricted, or destroyed, by unjust discrimination, but should be put upon the same footing, governed by the same rules and stimulated by the same fostering regulations. This is all we ask, and this we are willing to give. I am satisfied that none of the present Directors, whether appointed or elected, will ever be justly amenable to the charge of sectionalism.

Opposing conciliation of the opposition.

I am strongly sympathetic with you, Governor, in the opinion that the good men with whom we have been accustomed to co-operate so harmoniously in time past, but who from mistaken patriotism and great timidity of purpose, voted for Holden in the last election, should be conciliated by all the legitimate means in our power—that is, if "conciliate" be the right word. But do they need *con-*

ciliation? They acted under the temporary pressure of what they deemed to be the only wise *policy,* and reluctantly applied their *hands* to a work which did not engage their *hearts.* They voted for Holden from what some conceived to be a childish fear of the consequences of his defeat; and thus influenced and controlled by their fears alone, they avowedly surrendered their cherished principles—but *only* for *that* occasion which, with them, was the turning point in our fate. Well, that occasion has passed—their fears have been dissipated—and the dreaded consequences have not been realized. Where then do they stand *now?* To be sure if they are good men, and are to be relied on (and I have no reason to believe otherwise) they are already within the fold,—not coming "home," but already seated in the old family mansion. Is not this necessarily the position of the good men, who do not encourage, affiliate or sympathize with, openly or secretly, that other class whom you appropriately style Radicals, represented probably by old Gahagan in the West and Lewis Thompson in the East? The great difficulty with me is to draw the line of demarcation between these two classes. The South has had, as yet, no opportunity to prove itself by its works. The Convention, we all know, exhibited but few, very few, indications of any change for the better, having been Holdenish in the beginning, and having remained so to its final adjournment. Hence it was that I was opposed to perhaps unwillingly sustaining radicalism in any conceivable shape, whether openly avowed, or secretly fondled, and believed that the circumstance not only justified, but called for the application of the axe to the very tap root of the evil. If some comely branches should adorn the fall of the tree, why such comely branches had no business being engrafted on such a trunk, or growing in such dangerous proximity to its scarred and knotty limbs.

'Tis these *radicals* that I would conciliate—but not

with their arms in their hands. As long as they shout crucify *us,* and would infamously deprive *us* of privileges incident to free institutions, and inherent in American citizenship, just so long I would make them feel that the way of the transgressor is hard, and that there is no peace for the wicked. These are the men who either denounce, or *encourage* the denunciation of, yourself, and humble men of like faith and practice, as 'Secessionists', the latter day war saints, etc., etc., These are the men who seize upon every nomination of a secessionist, or secretly encourage others to do so, to weaken you, and damage the State. I would slay them until they threw down their arms and begged for quarter—and then I would conciliate them as every true penitent is conciliated, by bestowing favors which should be emphatically the offshoots of Free Grace. But if they demanded favor—I'd give them the knife. If they cried for mercy—I would shower suitable blessings on their miserable heads. And all this too for the good of the people and the safety of the State.

However, Governor, in these matters you had an ample opportunity of correctly judging; and, if I know myself, I would certainly subordinate all minor considerations to the success of real conservative principles, of which you are undoubtedly the representative man.

Respectfully tendering you renewed assurances of my friendliest esteem and regards,

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To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH *July 4th 1866.*

The extreme pressure upon my time puts it out of my power to answer all your interesting letters.

The agitations to get up opposition to me have thus far proved failures. The latest which seems, as I infer from

Failure to organize opposition.

the last *Standard,* is still under advisement—to-wit, the running of a straight Secessionist for Govr. and a Holden man per se, as Lt. Govr. The men they purpose to use for this purpose are Genl. Mat. Ransom and R. P. Dick. I have no information warranting the belief that either of these gentlemen would assent to the arrangement. My information tends to the contrary. The mere proposal of such a combination is indicative of mutinious desperation.

Holden and the President.

I am anxious to hear the effect of Holden's mission to Washington. It is surprising to me that so shrewd a man as the President should not before now have comprehended Holden. I think he is still a favorite of the president, and that he retains power to jaundise the president's mind against me and Graham and Turner and all the other true Union men of the State. It astonishes me that the Prest. does not understand and despise his malicious cunning and ignoble sycophancy.

I regard the proposed National Convention at Philadelphia as affording some hope of returning sanity in the nation.

Opinion as to the adoption of the 14th amendment.

If three fourths of the States adopt the Howard amendment to the Constitution it may restore a worthless Union. It would be a re-union with mutual detestation and abhorrence between the lately alienated people. No Southern State, where the people are free to vote, will adopt it. If we are to be degraded we will retain some self-esteem by not making it self-abasement. It excludes from public confidence not only such men as Hanes, and Bat. Moore, John Pool, R. P. Dick, Jo. Turner, etc.—but every man who as a justice of the peace, constable, Post Master, etc., may have taken the oath to support the Constitution of the U. S., while it admits to office the most violent Secessionists who may have taken up arms and fought through the war against the Union provided he had held no position prior to the war whereby he had taken the oath to

support the Constitution of the U. S.—I would submit to confiscation or any other calamity which brute force can impose before I would be guilty of the self-degradation of voting for this amendment. The dispensing power retained for two thirds of Congress is the most destable feature of the scheme. Honorable men could not get a dispensation from a Congress evidently under the lead of Thad. Stephens. Only sycophants and men mean enough to seek thrift by fawning, could obtain the dispensation. If we were voluntarily to adopt this amendment I think we would be the meanest and most despicable people on earth. Nobody in this State that I have heard of, except a few Holden men per se, will vote for it.

I thank you most cordially for your successful efforts in obtaining pardons. I will cull out a small list, according to your suggestions, soon, and send it on.—If the Prest. would pardon Turner, Graham and Dortch, all of which he ought to grant without a moment's hesitation, after pardoning Bridgers, Arrington, Lander and Venable, he would be more popular in this State than anybody has been since the days of Genl Washington. The withholding of these pardons is a political blunder. It is never expedient to do wrong.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To D. D. Ferebee.[1]

RALEIGH, *July 5 1866.*

Regarding Federal appointments.

I am called upon by the Sec. of the Treasury to recommend a fit man, who can take the oath, as assessor in the first Internal Revenue District, being the same as the first Congressional District.

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[1] Dennis D. Ferebee, of Camden, was a Whig lawyer, and after the war a Democrat. He was a member of the House of Commons from 1846 to 1850, and from 1856 to 1862. He was also a member of the convention of 1865.

As this appointment will be conferred on a Yankee, if a suitable citizen of the State be not recommended and as Mr. Stubbs, your member of Congress is at a point where I cannot communicate with him for want of mail facilities, I trouble you for a suggestion. None of our citizens who remained at home during the war and who have the proper regard for the sanctity of an oath (excepting the Quakers whose religion forbids them to take *any* part in war) can take the teste oath. I am persuaded you might get the consent of some competent Quaker to accept who would not[?] make a good officer without being odious to yr people. If you prefer to have nothing to do in the matter let me hear at once. I deem it expedient to recommend *some* North Carolinian.

SOUTH MILLS.

To James P. Foster.

RALEIGH, *July 5 1866.*

Regarding Federal appointments.

My course in relation to all appointments by the U. S. govt. in this State is to recommend no one, except with the approval of the people amongst whom his duties are to be performed. The merchants of Wilmington unmistakably desire the appointment of Savage. I can recommend no other. As between you and Fuller, with the light now before me, I prefer you. As to recommending you for Assessor for the 1st District, I cannot do it until the wishes of the people of the district shall have been ascertained. If you can get the recommendation of the member elected to represent that district in Congress I will be glad to endorse it—or to recommend yr appointment. In making these recommendations I must have regard to the wishes of the people among whom the officer is to act.

HUDSON, N. Y.

To Lewis Hanes.

Raleigh, *July 5th 1866.*

I could not discreetly demand pledges of Directors as to their choice of Prest. I appointed Roberts at your suggestion. I hope you will induce him to vote for Turner. I think Means, Gilmer, Moore and Berry are certain for Turner. I dont' know how Boyden, Roberts and Strange will vote, but I think all of them will go for Turner who, I believe to be a fitter man than his competitor.

Salisbury.

To J. M. Coffin.

Raleigh, *July 5 1866.*

In engineering to give a good director to your road and at the same time avoiding political quicksands we have appointed as State Directors, Ro. Strange, Wilmington, Berry and Jo. Turner, Orange—Moore, Alamance,—Gilmer, Guilford, B. B. Roberts, Davidson, Boyden—Rowan, and Means—Cabarrus—and yourself State proxy —two democrats—the rest old Whigs—All Johnson men. It leaves no appointee of Holden except Boyden, whom H. appointed from policy and not because he was a follower of Holdenism. You will see that Wake & Johnston got no director. This will be imputed to the fact that these were Holden Counties. It did not happen from this cause. I wish to make amends to Wake by appointing Rufus Tucker of this City on your Com. of Finance. He is eminently competant—was an old director turned out by Holden. He will be satisfied if put on this Committee. Be sure to manage this. Railroad directors.

Salisbury.

From Josiah Turner, Jr.

HILLSBORO *July 5th 1866.*

I wrote you a hurried letter yesterday as the mail closed. I trouble you with this for fear you did not received yesterday's letter.

Our jail is insecure—in fact no jail at all. It contains two great scamps who have stolen horses, entered houses, etc. They were arrested last week.

My letter yesterday contained the names of the majority of the Magistrates who ask for the special term—*now asking* that you do not grant it because the trial will be moved to another county. The prisoners have entered houses in every part of this country and I would not think of trying here. Every Magistrate that I saw who had petitioned for the court joined in asking that the court *be not ordered.*

They did not know when they petitioned for the court that I would move the trial.

Please inform me or the Clerk of the Court whether you determine for or against the Special Term that we may have the prisoners sent to a securer jail.

Here they are guarded which will add much to the cost.

To Colonel James Wren.

RALEIGH, *July 6/66.*

Asking reason for change of attitude.

After a long life of intimate political and personal relations with you, cordial, as I believe on both sides, I am pained to believe that by some means, to me unaccountable, I have forfeited your confidence.—What have I done to produce this change. I hear you participated in the meeting a few days ago at Long's Mills, which nominated Holden for Govr. I was not surprised at the course of Dr. Sellars. He published over his name in the *Stand-*

ard last Fall a wilful life to defeat my election. I never look for kindness or justice from one who has done me wilful injury. That an old friend of your stable views in political matters should prefer one over me who has done more than anybody in this State to inculcate secession and sectionalism, greatly surprised me. I think you must be laboring under some strange mistaken in reference to me. Is it asking too much of you, as an old friend, to explain what it is that I have done which has changed your views in relation to me?

TROY'S STORE.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH *July 6th 1866.*

Hon. J. Turner, as he is both unpardoned and un-recognized as a member of Congress, declines to recommend any one as a Cadet to West Point. He says there is no one more worthy than Perrin Busbee. Can the thing be managed without the aid of Mr. Turner's signature? How much mischief will Holden do me and the State in Washington? He seems to be still in the confidence of the President, and of Mr. Seward, as I hear.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To General J. C. Robinson.

RALEIGH, *July 6th 1866.*

Your communication in relation to the alleged murder of Henry Calicotte, Corporal in 28th Michigan Infantry, by one Nathan W. Roberts, inquiring "whether any indictment had been found against the murderer or any steps taken by the civil authorities to bring him to justice" has been received.

Having no information personal or official in relation

to the subject of your inquiry, I have taken the steps deemed necessary to get at the facts in relation to the subject and will answer as soon as I shall have received a report.

RALEIGH.

To W. T. Faircloth.[1]

RALEIGH *July 6th 1866.*

I herewith inclose to you a copy of a communication recd yesterday from Genl. Robinson, military Commandant of the State.

Please enable me to answer the inquiry. The object is obvious. If no action has been taken by our authorities please explain why such action was not taken. Was an inquest held? If so what was the report of the jury?

GOLDSBORO, N. C.

To Hugh McCulloch.

RALEIGH, *July 7th 1866.*

I addressed a letter on the 16th ult. to the Asst. Sec. Hon. W. S. Chandler, in response to one from him in regard to Capt. Charles Emery, in which I stated that upon inquiry of Hon. N. Boyden, I was satisfied that Capt. E. was a very intelligent gentleman of most excellent character.

Capt. Emery tells me that this letter was not received, or had not been received when he left Washington. I

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[1] W. T. Faircloth, of Wayne, had been a lawyer before the war. When the war began he volunteered and rose to the rank of captain. He was a member of the convention of 1865, and of the legislature of 1865. He was until 1868 Solicitor of the Third Judicial District. In 1875 he was elected to the constitutional convention, and after that adjourned, Governor Brogden appointed him a Justice of the Supreme Court.

therefore take the occasion to repeat what I then wrote, and to state further that I believe Capt. Emery is well qualified for any position in the gift of the government in this State.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *July 8, 1866.*

I have just received yours of the 6th inst.

At present there are three vacancies for N. C. at West Point. These I think will be filled on or before August 20, next. Next year there will be four more vacancies. Those there now charged to N. C. are all non residents. They will graduate next year. Regarding vacancies at West Point.

The Districts that are vacant now are the 1st, 2nd and 6th. But as none are filled by North Carolinians I see little reason why one district rather than another should have the vacancies, so it is all made right in the end. What I would recommend is that you select the three young men that you prefer to fill the vacancies. Write a letter to the President (a simple formal letter) recommending the three preferred. As Mr. Turner will not nominate, perhaps Col. Walkup will recommend Mr. Busbee. I do not know that it is absolutely necessary to have the endorsement of the M. C. but from what Col. Cooper said I believe it will be best. Mr. Busbee had better try to get in *now*. The system is to be changed next year and each M. C. will then nominate *five*, and a selection of one will be made by the War Dept. This year the competitive system will not be applied.

If Walkup recommend Mr. Busbee it will be better than Mr. Turner's recommendation, for Walkup represents the 6th Dist. to which one of the vacancies is marked.

Have you recommended any one for the 2nd Dist? Dr. Arendell's son, Willie L. has made application and some of his friends have written me on the subject of urging his appointment. I have however done nothing, as I wish in this matter to act in perfect concert with you.

If the members of Congress elect *decline* to nominate, on the grounds named by Mr. Turner, then state the fact in the letter to the President that you consulted them. But be sure to send on as soon as convenient a letter naming *three* young men for the *three* vacancies now existing. Of course young Bagley and Busbee will be two of them, and let the other be the one you prefer, who if he resides in the 2nd Dist that will be in his favor. But in this general letter of recommendation it would be best to say nothing about *Districts*. For no matter what Districts get places now, the others will make it up next summer.

From B. S. Hedrick.

Washington, D. C. *July 8, 1866.*

Influence of Holden.

I received yesterday yours of July 4th and but for want of time would write a special reply. I do not take so dark a view of matters as you do, but can freely admit that there is good ground to fear all that you apprehend. So little has been done to enlighten public opinion in N. C. on the leading questions of the day, and the power which Holden and the Charlatan class of Northern men that look to him as a convenient tool has done the State infinite damage. But I still believe that there is enough good sense in the State to govern it, and to retrieve the past. I believe now that N. C. notwithstanding all Holden's Jeremiads is better off and presents a more hopeful state of things than any other Southern State.

In regard to Holden's position here, I cannot speak

positively, but I do not believe it amounts to anything. The only time that Holden was really dangerous was last Dec. when he was moving Heaven and Earth to have the election set aside and himself retained as Governor. Having failed in that, he lost his best chance. The President I judge rather pities him. Having taken him up, the President does not care to openly repudiate him, and I think the sending of Holden's nomination to the Senate was really a shrewd move of the President. But if the Senate confirm him, they must stop all talk about appointing *red handed* traitors, for of all the President's former appointments Holden is the biggest rebel. If Holden is rejected, the mischievious faction of officeseekers, of which he is the head, will meet with a deserved rebuke. So taken at any way I think good and not evil will result. The nomination I think was procured through the influence of Powell with Seward. Seward has always stood up for Holden.

Holden is still here I believe. Vance left yesterday for home. If I have a little time to spare during the week I will see some of the members of Congress and find out what Holden has been doing. But my opinion is that he spends more time among sensation newspaper reporters, getting up dispatches to pass as public opinion, than he does in consulting with leading men of any party.

How does Lewis Hanes get on with his paper? I seldom see Hane's paper and only occasionally I get the *Standard.* Hanes is just the man to handle articles like Holden's leader of July 3rd, when he urges Ransom to run for Gov. It is too long before election to commence the canvas in earnest, but now is the time to watch the movements of the enemy.

Strong efforts will be made to detach Guilford Co. from your support on account of the appointment of J. A. Gilmer, Jr., and Jas. T. Morehead, Jr. There are some of the union men in that county and Randolph, that have been exceedingly impracticable. But I think the trouble

has been more the want of a good newspaper. Hanes could edit a paper that would command the respect of the public of those counties.

To Tyre York.

RALEIGH *July 9th 1866.*

Regarding his campaign for re-election.

Yours of the 16th ult. is recd. I am gratified to learn from it that you think a majority of the people of Wilkes will go for my re-election as Govr. this Fall. I attribute my slender vote last Fall to the fact that in the short time after the announcement of my name, the great body of your people had not time to be correctly informed as to the political record of myself and my competitor—and to the delusion that his election was essential to retaining the favor of the Prest, and restoration to the Union. These delusions have passed away. I have always stood on the Union, Henry Clay platform to which Wilkes has adhered. For long years my competitor labored to foster Sectionalism and Secession. Upon every principle of consistency I ought to have received the support of Wilkes, and am gratified, that upon better information I am likely to receive it at the coming election.

To show your people how I stood at the beginning of our troubles I send you a copy of a circular I addressed to my constitutents in January 1861, *before* any public man in the State took the ground.

TRAP HILL.

To Andrew Johnson.

RALEIGH *July 10 1866.*

In regard to pardons.

Being intensely anxious for the success of your policy because I believe it identical with the well being of the nation, I venture some suggestions to you at the risk of

being deemed obtrusive, in relation to the pardons of three distinguished individuals of this State. I know you have a much wider field of observation than I have, but your conclusions on this wide field must be made up from your knowledge of facts. I fear in the multitude of your cares some inconsistencies, as they appear to the people of North Carolina, in the exercise of the pardoning power, may have escaped your attention. Four members of the Confederate Congress, known here as original Secessionists, to-wit, Venable, Arrington, Bridgers and Lander have been very properly pardoned. I entertain no doubt as to their purpose to obey the laws and Constitution of the United States and that a Union, worth preserving, requires that such men be treated with the gracious magnanamity you have exhibited towards them: but while these are pardoned, I am ignorant of any principle of equity or policy which warrants the withholding of a pardon from Graham, Dortch and Jo. Turner. The discrimination attracts universal attention in this State. Your friends believe they are withheld from legitimate policy until a more propitious season. I think the propitious season has arrived. You must be aware that Gov. Graham is by far the most popular man in this State, both on account of the purity of his personal character, his talents and the confidence of our people in his patriotism. He opposed disunion and secession till war had actually commenced. Turner carried his opposition still further. As a Senator he voted against the ordinance of Secession in May 1861,—and at the same Session Dortch was elected a Senator in the Confederate Congress, the Union members voting for him as less obnoxious than the other candidates from among whom the selection had to be made. It is well known that Graham and Turner, as members of the Confederate Congress desired and believed Mr. Stephens and his associates invested with power to treat at Fortress Monroe for peace on the basis of restored Union. Those facts being notorious in this State,

the opinion is universal and strong, that these gentlemen ought to be pardoned, excepting a very inconsiderable number of personal enemies. Nothing would so warm up the people of this State to be represented in the approaching national Convention at Philadelphia as the pardon of these gentlemen. If pardoned, every body would look to Gov. Graham as our chief representative in that Convention. If still unpardoned it may be held a matter of doubtful expediency to send him. Every body in this State (excepting a handful of Radicals) supports your policy. If you would pardon these three men it would give fervor to this support.

I make this communication to you without consultation or conference with any person, and without the knowledge of any body. It springs entirely from my desire to support the best interests of my country.

The courtesy which the Sec. of State has exhibited towards me in a personal interview last summer, and in our official correspondence, warranted me, as I conceived, in presenting to him these views in a letter a few days ago, which I authorised him to use as he might deem proper. He informs me he has laid that letter before you. I deem it my duty to reiterate and impress the views therein presented.

From R. L. Patterson.[1]

Patterson N. C. *July 10th 1866.*

Asking for cause of failure to be re-appointed Director.

I desire respectfully to enquire what I have done, or what I have failed to do, to cause my late ostracism as Director of the Western N. C. R. Road? If *political* friendship has anything to do with your appointments, who has exhibited more of it than I have done? I was the only Holden director so far as I know, that voted for

[1] Rufus L. Patterson had been a member of the conventions of 1861 and 1865.

you. I was among the first of the members of the Convention last fall, to declare in your favor. I came home loaded with your documents and expended from my private purse a sufficient sum to give them general distribution—and I may add, that I did something to arouse the luke-warmness of some of the very men who have been appointed over my head. It has been a pleasure to give my support, humble tho' it be, to your administration. If *personal* friendship has anything to do with the appointments, I can offer a claim of many years of the kindest relations existing between you, Gov. Morehead, my late father-in-law Mr. Fries, my Father, and I hope you will allow me to add, *myself*. I am sure your son David will say that I was *his* friend.

But supposing, what *ought* to be the case, that neither *political* or *personal* friendship has anything to do with your appointments, but that capacity and interest in the success of the Road, are the only requisites, I *think* my ostracism need not have taken place on *this* account. It is true I do not own much stock in the road, it was built to its present terminal before I removed to this section of the State—but I *am* largely interested in the *successful running* of the Road. It is the *life-blood* of my business—it is an *absolute* necessity to my remaining in this country, and this I certainly prefer to do. As an evidence of this, I may mention that I & the Co. I represent, will probably pay (I may almost say *certainly*) more freight to that Rail Road than *six* of your newly appointed Directors all put together. If I have brains enough to understand anything, it is, that as the West. N. C. R. R. flourishes I may expect to flourish—and that *its* interests are *my* interests. If I have sufficient capacity might I not be entrusted with those interests?

As to my capacity it is not for me to speak. I have enjoyed the confidence of such men as Gov. Morehead, W. F. Fries, Mr. Jesse H. Lindsey, Gov. Vance and others—

and I succeeded in business which is considered a test of merit. I have labored for twelve years to make myself a business man, and if my record for energy, promptness and unselfish love of duty, does not equal that of any man you have appointed then I have labored in vain and must commence my work over again.

I write these things respectfully. I should not write them *at all,* if the whole of Gov. Holden's appointees had passed out together—but for your board you have selected one of the old Board—known to have talked and voted against you—who has little or no interest in the R. Road either as a stockholder or business man, and whose country people are not dependent upon this Road, and therefore bring it but little patronage. That he should have been re-appointed and I left out, is the reason of this letter. The other Directors can console themselves with the reflection that the Juggernaut of politics crushed out their official life, and that Cowles has only been more lucky than they—while I, known throughout this section as a Worth man of the *warmest* sect, have only to reflect, and to feel that others may also reflect, that something worse than political opposition has cut off my head.

It would be useless for me to say that I do not feel this slight. I cannot help regarding it as a pointed indication that I am "not wanted"—and it may not be improper to mention that my Father enters fully into my feelings upon this matter. Hoping that no other gentleman may have reason to complain as I have done, I am,

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To L. S. Gash.

Raleigh *July 10th 1866.*

Answer to recommendation for pardon.

The constant pressure of urgent official duties has prevented me from replying to several letters recd from you. I have recently attended to the matters to which you called

my attention. I have the highest personal regard for you and would have answered if it had been possible for me to do so without neglecting other more urgent duties.

You recommended me to pardon a rioter, (name not remembered) convicted before Judge Merrimon. Your letter was endorsed by Mr. Jones. Under the rules which I had laid down for my government in the course of the pardoning power, as to the propriety of which I entertain no doubt, I could not comply with your request. I hold that the executive ought never to pardon till the judge or the jury are heard from. The law has imposed on them a duty which they perform under oath. I think it would be a perversion of the pardoning power to act on an ex parte representation of facts, no odds how trust-worthy, till the judge or the jury, who have heard the evidence on both sides, have at least been heard from.—I am officially bound to presume that they have performed their duty. I could not, therefore, have pardoned the criminal, upon the representations made to me, no odds who had been the judge. In this case Merrimon is the judge. I have long known him well—And have not less confidence in his prudence and judgment and impartiality than in his legal attainments. I could not believe he would have ordered an imprisonment of the deft. for six months upon the facts as set forth in the petition before me. I refused to grant the pardon until Judge Merrimon could be heard from. Mr. Jones applied to him. The facts, as stated by him, constitute one of the most outrageous riots I have ever heard of in North Carolina, in which the convict was a leader, if not *the* leader. It would have been a license for outrage to have punished him with less severity than the judge did. I pity his wife and children but it would be, in my opinion, false compassion which would let off with nominal punishment so great an outrage on the laws of the land. I am persuaded you did not know the facts—or that your compassion for the innocent wife and children got the better of your judgment.

I will in no instance grant a pardon until the judge or the jury can be heard from and I feel confident your good judgment will approve this rule.

HENDERSONVILLE.

To Dr. M. F. Arendell.[1]

RALEIGH *July 11th 1866.*

I herewith inclose to you a copy of a letter I this day addressed to the President of the United States.

I hear you have lately indulged in very open and bitter denunciations of my action as to Directors on your Road.[2] I hope when you get cool you will perceive that they were unwarranted. I am clear that under all the circumstances I did right.

BEAUFORT.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH *July 11, 1866.*

Your inquiry as to how our friend Hanes gets on with his news-paper—I learn that it is barely on a living basis—there being almost no money in the region of its circulation. I read it—and according to my views, it *eminently* deserves patronage. There is remarkable concordance of judgment between its editor and myself.—

I inclose recommendation of three young men for West Point, as suggested by you. If the recommendations be not in due form, please advise me what is the needed correction.

Regarding campaign for re-election.

I think there will be no opposition to me. Holden and

[1] Michael F. Arendell, of Carteret, was a physician. He was a Whig in politics and had been State Senator from 1850 to 1854, and from 1860 to 1862.

[2] The Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad.

his followers—and a few weak men who think in the dispensation of my trifling patronage that I have discriminated against old democrats and in favor of old Whigs, are growling and would like to get out opposition, but the growlers belong to incongruous elements and cannot cooperate. The great body of the people including its chief representative men of all shades of all party, are decidedly for me. Ransom I am reliably informed, declines—Settle or Dockery is the demand of the divided Holden faction. Most of the men who gave dignity to Holden's faction last fall will not now adhere to it. Dick, Pool, Thompson, Warren, Donnell, Boyden, etc. oppose the running a candidate against me. I have not heard of the falling off of a single adherent who supported me last Fall. Full one third of the members of the Convention who called out Holden last Fall are now decidedly for me.—I have not heard of the slightest dissatisfaction in Guilford, except the statement in your letter, the appointment of Gilmer and Morehead were distasteful to my friends there. Randolph is now almost unanimous for me.

Washington, D. C.

To Fred. Garner.

Raleigh, *July 11th 1866.*

I have sold your eight coupons as instructed, for the best price I could obtain—to-wit $132.—currency.

I will pay your sight draft for this sum or send it to you when a safe chance offers. I do not know when such chance will present itself. Perhaps yr Sheriff will advance the money to you—or brothr. Milton for yr sight draft on me.

Yr old bond will bring about 52 to 55 cts on the dollar. I can't take the responsibility of advising you whether to sell or not. I can't see deep into the cloudy future.

Asheboro.

To Colonel J. M. Perry.

RALEIGH, *July 11th 1866.*

I hear it represented that there is much discontent in your place as to my appointments for the management of the A. & N. C. R. R. If my action has been obnoxious to any criticism which to fair men, seems just, I would like to know wherein. I had to pass my ship between Scylla and Caribdis. I endeavored to navigate prudently. I hear some of my friends in Morehead City complain—Of what do they complain?

BEAUFORT.

To A. E. Rhodes.

RALEIGH, *July 11 1866.*

I am sure you will have appreciated my difficulties in appointing Directors for the A. &. N. C. R. R.—With the lights before me I exercised powers as judiciously as I could, looking primarily to the interests of the State.

I hear that some of my friends in Morehead City complain of my action. If this be so, will you oblige me by informing me wherein my friends think I erred?

MOREHEAD CITY.

To Hugh McCulloch.

RALEIGH, *July 11 1866.*

In a late letter from your dept. I was invited to recommend a suitable person as assessor in the 2nd District of this State in place of Mr. Piggott. I took measures to get the information—and herewith inclose the recommendation of Ethelbert Hubbs by Hon. C. Clark, member elect to Congress, which I endorse.

On the 29th ult. I received another letter from your

dept. which leaves me in doubt whether you want a recommendation, in place of Piggott, for the 2nd District.

Washington, D. C.

To Lewis Hanes.

Raleigh, *July 13/66.*

I am much pressed with business and [have] time only to say that I refuse any alliances with any person—I must be understood as being hands off as to Lt. Govr. In *strict confidence* I regard Wright's name as much less exceptionable than any other named—and the two *most* exceptionable ones Ferebee and Dick.

Salisbury.

To James A. Egerstone.

Raleigh *July 13 1866.*

Yours of the 29th ult. was not answered immediately because I hoped to have got the question of jurisdiction as between the Freedman's Bureau and the judiciary tribunals of the State distinctly defined ere this. I have been disappointed, but am still using every effort I can judiciously make to have this matter intelligibly settled. As soon as the correspondence now in progress on the subject, shall have reached any result, this result will be made known to the people of the State by proclamation or otherwise.

Conflict between Bureau and civil courts.

While negotiating to settle the general principle I have not deemed it expedient to call attention to special cases.

Warrenton.

From J. C. Bain.

TROY'S STORE, N. C. *July 14 1866.*

Yours of the 4th inst is to hand informing me of my pardon, etc., of which I am proud.

Politics in Randolph.

You wished to have the particulars of the meeting held at Liberty which I suppose came before you by an extract from a letter dated Long's Mills of June 28th. Now for the truth of the meeting at Liberty which nominated Holden for governor. There was a meeting attempted or tried to be had at Liberty gotten up or tried to be gotten up by the Sellers and Wrenns, etc. to nominate a candidate for Senator to represent Randolph and Alamance the meeting was to be held at Liberty on 23rd of June, well the day rolled round and after I got my dinner I walked up and I found about 5 or 6 men in number I staid at Liberty until nearly night and I do believe 12 persons was all that was there and not more than half that no at any one time there was no meeting organized of any kind whatever. There was not more than 3 or four men that was Worth men for the reason they paid no attention to the meeting Washington Browne knew nothing of the meeting until night when he came in from his field of work. You can now judge what kind of meeting has been held, it is all a right down *Lie* all done for an effect. There cant be respectable men enough got together to even make a shadow of a meeting to nominate an opposition to you. I say Randolph will not give Holden, Dick, or any other Holdenite a very liberal surport. if there is any form of my pardon in your office please forward to me and oblige, etc.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *July 14. 1866.*

Yours enclosing the recommendation of Bagley, Arendell and Busbee for West Point has been received, and handed to the President's private secretary. I think the matter is now in the right shape. If any appointments are made I think they will be the ones. I will try and see the President personally about it before long. If there is any chance of Congress adjourning soon, I think the President will wait until after the adjournment.

The big batch of pardons have now all been signed by the Sec. of State, and a few have the seals affixed. But it will be perhaps a week before they are sent to you. I should think there were about four hundred in all.

Holden I understand has left. I judge that he has given up all hopes of a confirmation by the Senate. He will exert himself to get up a candidate for Gov. As matters now stand I think the best way is to let Holden have his way for he always has a *knack* of hanging himself if you only give him rope enough. I think he regards Settle as his strong card now. But there is no telling what scheme he will finally settle down upon, and therefore it will be valueless to plan at all with the view of counteracting what he might do. So far everything is progressing favorably. Holden's plans.

Mr. R. W. King has been confirmed as Collector of Customs for Newbern.

From W. H. Bagley to R. L. Patterson.

RALEIGH *July 16th 1866.*

Your letter to Governor Worth, of the 10th inst., has been received, and I write to inform you that he is at present absent from the City, to account for the delay which In answer to complaint.

will necessarily occur, on this account, in your receiving an answer.

It is with pain that I read your letter, on account of the great personal regard in which I hold you, and the relations which I sustain to Governor Worth. I was not well informed as to the peculiar circumstances which surrounded the appointment of the Directory on the W. N. C. R. Road. But of this fact I am well informed, and that is there is not in the State of North Carolina a man or a friend for whom Governor Worth entertains a higher respect, a deeper regard or more friendly feeling than for yourself. In this I refer to men of your own age. And were I to be asked what two men in the State, and these more properly his contemporaries, were most esteemed by Gov. W., I should, without hsitation, say Wm. A. Graham and Samuel F. Patterson. I *know* there is an entire absence, on his part, of the disregard for you which your letter seems to attribute to him. I know further that this matter of the Railroad has given him more embarrassment and trouble than any other matter which has come to his attention since he assumed the duties of his office. He can, I feel confident, and *will*, explain this matter to your satisfaction; and, until you hear from him, as your friend, I ask you not to do him the injustice of believing that he has less regard for you than he always has had.

Patterson.

To Thomas Webb.

Raleigh *July 21 1866.*

The Literary Board has occasion to send one of its members to Tarboro; to-wit H. W. Husted, to look after business of importance connected with our duties. We have not a dollar in the Treasury of the board. If in conformity with usage, please send me a free ticket for the Major.

[P. S.] The other members of the board are Nereus

Mendenhall and Stephen D. Pool. I do not know whether it is usual to grant complimentary or free tickets to these officers of the State or not.—Since writing the above I find it will be necessary that a member of the board visit Lake Ellis in the South West corner of Craven County.

COMPANY'S SHOPS.

To R. L. Abernethy.

RALEIGH *July 21 1866.*

Defining his position on public questions.

I comply with your request of the 13th inst to give you a frank explanation of my views on two questions you propound.

First—You ask me what I think of Western N. C. running Genl Vance for Lt. Gov.?

Before I declared myself a candidate for re-election I was approached by the friends of divers gentlemen—all my supporters, but of every shade of political sentiment, each desiring his name associated with mine. I deemed it my duty to decline making any alliance of the kind with any one.

It is common, when candidates are brought forward by the action of a Convention, for such Conventions to make nominations to be run together. I deemed it proper, in compliance with what I believed to be the popular will of a great majority of the State, to declare myself a candidate, without any nomination. My friends every where approved this course. If I were to have an understanding with any gentleman to have his name run with mine, as Lt. Govr. such an agreement would have been very distasteful to the numerous friends who would have been disappointed. It would be wrong and presumptious in me to make any arrangement as to Lt. Govr.—but I assure you if I deemed it proper to designate a man, none would be more acceptable to me than Genl. Vance.

As to your second question whether it is morally or politically right to repudiate all debts due up to the surrender of Genl Lee I have no hesitation in saying it is neither morally or politically right, and no member of the Genl Assembly can give such vote without a direct violation of his oath to support the Constitution of the U. S., which especially prohibits a State from passing any law impairing the obligation of a contract.

HAPPY HOME.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *July 23, 1866.*

Concerning pardons.

Yours inclosing application of Judge Caldwell and two others for pardon was received this morning. I went to the White House, but did not see either the President or his Secretary in charge of pardons. But left a note with the papers. I left a note and as tomorrow is Cabinet day I will go again day after tomorrow.

The *big list* of about 400 old pardons will be ready to be forwarded to you in a few days.

All well. Weather very hot and rainy.

Col. Wheeler thinks the Agricultural College scrip will be ready soon, which will be good news to Gov. Swain. There has been some very strange delay about it.

A memorial with about four hundred names has been sent me from citizens of Forsythe and Stokes Co. addressed to "the President and Congress." The substance of it is that Union men are being persecuted in the Courts, for acts of lawlessness, whilst rebels guilty of far more outrageous acts, are not persecuted, and if charges are made against rebels for murders and other outrageous acts the complaints are dismissed, whilst Union men are always held to answer. I think Capt. Settle who is prosecuting attorney ought to see to it the Union men are not prosecuted while rebels go free. If the administration knew

of the matter it would probably make it the occasion of more vituperation of the whole State. I think that there must be some cause for the complaints from the Western Counties. I have written to Starbuck about it. If you see any one from Stokes or Forsythe I think it would be well to inquire into the matter. I will try and send you a copy of the memorial.

All well hereabouts.

To Hugh McCulloch.

Raleigh, *July 23 1866.*

Owing to imperfect mail facilities I could not until today get the necessary information to enable me to comply with your request, asking me to recommend a suitable man for assessor of Internal Revenue in the first collection District of this State. I emphatically recommend Joseph R. Parker, of Belvidere, Perquimans County, North Carolina, as a man every way suitable, and acceptable to the District. He is a Quaker and can conscientiously take the teste oath. He has been consulted and will accept, if the appointment be tendered to him.

Washington D. C.

To J. E. Lee.

Raleigh *July 24/66.*

I procured the passage of a resolution at the last session of the Genl Assembly requiring the Treasurer to issue to Mrs. Kendall a bond, in lieu of the one she had surrendered. It provides for the issue of a bond to her, bearing interest from the date when the old bond fell due, with coupons for interest, etc. On application to the Treasurer for the new bond, he informs me he has no printed blank suited to this case—and that the printing of a single blank

would be very expensive: and that he will therefore prepare for her a manuscript bond conformable to the resolution,—which I shall probably get it in a few days, and will forward as you request.

If Mrs. Kendall wishes to return the bond, this manuscript bond will be as good as any—if she wish to sell it, I fear it will be hard to find a buyer in the N. Y. market. In this latter case I know no remedy only to get the Genl Assembly to authorise an exchange of this bond for one of the [*illegible*] issued for over-due coupons.

THOMASVILLE, N. C.

To J. W. Alspaugh.

RALEIGH, *July 24 1866.*

An extraordinary press of important executive duties has prevented an earlier reply to yours of the 15th inst.

It was referred to a committee of the Genl Assembly to define what State debts were to be repudiated as being contracted directly or indirectly in aid of the rebellion. Mr. Bynum, Chm. of the Committee, held that salaries to civil officers were not comprehended in the repudiation ordinance. After much discussion the Genl A. refused to concur in this report. The Treas. therefore does not feel authorised to pay any claims which arose during the continuance of the Con. Govt.

I thank you for the cordial support which your Journal accords to my administration and hope my course may merit a continuance of your confidence.

WINSTON.

RALEIGH, *July 25 1866.*

Mrs. Jos. S. Jones)
" Col. Heck)
" A. S. Jones)
" M. A. T. Carroll)
Miss Maria Sommerville)
" Ella Brownlow)
" Mollie Alston)

Ladies

I have recd your polite note of the 20th inst. inviting me to be present at the Warren W. Sul. Springs on the 8th Aug. on the occasion of erecting a monument in memory of the late Miss Lee, daughter of Genl. Robt. E. Lee.

I thank you for this opportunity you offer me, of which I propose to avail myself, of exhibiting my respect for the great and good father and amiable daughter.

I have the honor to be your

Obt. Sevt. JONATHAN WORTH.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH, *July 25 1866.*

Yours of the 20th inst. is recd.

I hope the President will refer the petitons from Forsythe and Stokes to me as he has done like petitions heretofore. The manner in which I discharged the duty heretofore, was so impartial and showed the utter groundlessness of the complaints, as induced Mr. Seward to compliment me. If they be referred to me I will investigate the facts so thoroughly as to present the truth, whatever it may be.

Plans of the opposition.

I am satisfied there is a concerted plan on foot, by imputing partiality to our Courts of justice, to have martial law restored, if it be not already in force. We have a new military commandant, Genl. Jno. C. Robinson. He professes to believe that a Union man cannot have justice in our Courts. To prove this he has had two officers Col.

Carr and Capt. Wolcott, traveling in several of the Western Counties and taking ex parte statements and affidavits to prove all sorts of iniquities against our Courts—a thing easily done in this way. Numerous petitions as he says, are sent to him asking for military protection. He has sent me copies of some of them. They show on their face, to an impartial mind, that they are got up for effect. He gave me no notice of this plan of ex parte investigation. The combination is extensive. Master spirits for mischief are at the bottom of it and our poor old State is likely to suffer from the dirty birds willing to foul their own nests to reek vengeance on others. I have no reason to dread fair investigation. I fear this will not be accorded. Genl. Robinson claims for "our common superior" the right to depose the civil authorities of the State and there are many indications that an attempt is being made to lay a foundation for the exertion of such a power. Genl. Grant's military order No. 44 July 1, is based on the assumption that the States involved in the rebellion are still under martial law. I see much trouble ahead and feel sure our judiciary, as virtuous, impartial and learned as any in the United States is to be the object of attack through the agency of insidious one-sided inquisition. Holden's object is to take vengeance on the State.

I hope you will send me a copy of the memorial.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

From A. E. Rhodes.

MOREHEAD CITY *July 26th 1866.*

Concerning appointment of Directors

Yours of the 11th inst was duly recd. and I avail myself of this my first leisure to reply, a duty which under the circumstances is to me exceedingly unpleasant.

And first, let me say that the implicit confidence which I have ever reposed in you, and my high regard for you as a man of unblemished honor and immaculate integrity are

still undiminished; and that my grateful recollections of your former kindness are still fresh and green.

You say that "with the lights before you you exercise powers as judiciously as *present* discomforture, and of your own *new-born unpopularity,*" an error which if not satisfactorily explained or remedied will, in this section if you have opposition transmute your hopes now flickering to *blooming despair.*

Even now, there is no longer any line of steamers from this point to N. York. The bridge at Newbern—which as I learn from the former Superintendent of Bridges, etc., could have been repaired by sections, so as not to stop the trains at all, has been condemned as unsafe and we think it will remain unsafe—in the opinion of the present management—until all the present crop of cotton and naval stores shall have been shipped. We know that the advantages to be derived from this Harbor constitute the chief arguments in favor of building this Road, and we had a right to suppose that the State would take some interest in developing her own resources; which has not been manifested in discriminating against a good harbor in favor of the port at Newbern—in whose deepest waters a tall man might wade with dry hands.

You say, furthermore, that "some of your friends at M. C. complain of your action and you wish to know wherein we think you erred." I can truly say not some but *all* complain. There is indeed "a loud lament along the sweeping sea," and the error is—I speak of Carteret—that you *rejected* whom you did reject and appointed those whom you did appoint. But the rejection of Thomas and Arendell would have mattered little had you also rejected Ramsey who was—beyond all question—a more odious Holdenite than either of the others, and superlatively unacceptable to the citizens of Morehead.

Had you displaced them all and appointed such men as B. Arendell, John Perry, S. D. Pool—who had fought and suffered for their homes and their country—you would

have given satisfaction. Again: The appointment of Murdoch, of Salisbury, for Carteret—leaves us to infer that, in your estimation, there was but *one man* in the whole county worthy of being elected to so *high* a *position*. The result of your action is that Morehead has not a single employee on the Road. There were three—the conductor, superintendent of bridges and repairs—and agt.—all Worth men and men of influence.

T. Arendell—conductor—is an ex-confederate soldier—and is now without any prospect of employment; Murdoch—superintendent of bridges received a better position on the W. &. W. R. R. immediately after he was displaced; but worst of all Ramsey, by strategetic log-rolling managed to displace G. W. Dill whose superior for the position he held could hardly be found in the State. I also learn that he spent about $500. to secure your election last fall and that Duncan—his successor—was Holden's first appointment as Mayor of Beaufort and that he was an intensely warm supporter of Holden. I sincerely believe that Dill did more for the interest of the State than any three directors on the Road. If Ramsey and Murdoch could be properly disposed of and Duncan restored to the bosom of his family the interest of the State would be promoted and we should feel better satisfied: provided the *Bridge* can be considered *safe* once more.

For the present you have *killed Morehead, ruined the Road and lost the friendship*—so far as I know—of *every man* who has *any interest* at this place.

I write these things with all deference for your feelings and with exceeding sorrow, hoping that something may yet be done for the *interests of the State* which will restore you to the good graces of the City of the Sea—I wish you sincerely well.

To Z. B. Vance.

RALEIGH *July 26 1866.*

Conditions in North Carolina.

Holden, Tod Caldwell and others of like malignant feeling towards North Carolina, are endeavoring to restore the State to military rule. The scheme is to make the impression that Union men (so called) cannot have justice in our Courts. The present miltary commandant of the State cordially co-operate with them, as I fear does Genl Grant—witness his military order dated July 1. Agents appointed by Genl Robinson have been sent to the Western part of the State to take ex-parte testimony to show that Union men cannot have justice in our Courts. I am supplied with a copy of their report. I intend to try to send a copy of this report and of my correspondence with Genl Robinson to Judge Mitchell to be transmitted by him to Judges Ramsey, Shipp and Merrimon. It is voluminous and I have not sufficient clerical force to furnish a separate copy to each. Western N. C. is the region from which they expect to draw the proofs necessary to prove that martial law ought to be restored. I am not armed with power to send out agents to counteract these machinations. Genl Robinson sends out reports from his instructors in Wilkes and elsewhere of disloyal transactions in Surry, Allegheny, etc. These charges are vague—hence not easy to answer, but specific enough to accomplish the aim of signers. I think we are in great peril. Robinson claims for the military the power to judge whether the civil authorities of the State, judges included, do their duty, and in case they deem them derelict, to suspend them. I sent a copy of his letter asserting this proposition to the President ten days ago. He does not answer.

I send you this hasty sketch to keep you somewhat posted. I have not time to make it as full as I could wish. I think I shall go to Washington to satisfy myself whether the Prest. is still under the guidance of Holden as to matters in North Carolina.—I fear he is.—I refer you to

Col. Mitchell for further information on the main subject of this letter.

[P. S.] This is a hasty ante-breakfast sketch written at home, *currente calamo*.

From W. H. Bagley to William H. Bryan.

RALEIGH, *July 26th 1866.*

Your letter, of the 21st inst., to the Governor, enclosing certain resolves of citizens of your town, looking to the protection of the lives and property of themselves and their families, and asking him "to legalize their proceedings," has been received.

The Governor instructs me to reply that he knows of no power vested in him by which he can comply with the wish expressed. If, however, there be any public law, or any private law passed for the benefit of your County or town, by the provisions of which he can do so, if you will inform him, he will give you all the aid so authorized.

TRENTON.

To R. M. Pearson.[1]

RALEIGH, *July 27 1866.*

I lately appointed Judge Fowle to hold a Court of Oyer and Terminer in Alamance County under the Act of 1862-62, Chap. 35. He produces the certificate of the Clerk that he has held the Court and asks me to issue my warrant on the Treasurer. I cannot satisfy myself as to the amount he is entitled to receive or the law authorising me to issue such warrant. I will be greatly obliged to you for your advise and opinion in relation to this matter.

[1] Richmond M. Pearson had been a member of the Legislature from 1829 to 1833. In 1836 he was elected to the Superior Court bench, in 1848 to the Supreme Court and became Chief Justice in 1858. He was re-elected upon re-organization in 1865, and again in 1868.

Much pains is being taken by Genl. Robinson to prove by an ex parte investigation that Union men cannot have justice in our Courts. I send to-day copies of much of this evidence and of my correspondence with the Genl to Judge Mitchell with the request, when he shall have read the papers, that he send them to Judges Shipp and Merrimon in the hope they may be able to furnish me some facts or suggestions or counter affidavits to counter-act the mischief likely to result. I send to these judges because the imputations are located in their Circuits.

The Genl claims the right for the military authorities to suspend the civil officers of the State from the exercise of their functions.

Richmond Hill.

From Miles Lamb.

N. C. Randolph County much respected governer through necesity I seat my self this morning to rite yo a few lines too let yo now the fix i am now in it has bin my trade too still brandy when ever thire was fruit too still ever scence 1842 being that I lived on a poor plantation stilling was my plan too make my spending money had it not bin for that Chance I could not have pad my tax all tha time but by that Chance I have all ways pad my tax till this time & bynot kowing this Dollar & a half tax was lade on brandy in 1865 I fixed up as common too still before i found it out then I had too lose my fruit or go on & popel thought that law so unreasabel that it would be repeald & promist me that if I would go on that if the tax was too pay tha would pay there part of it & that tha was lik my self tha had to spend what tha got for some thing too eat & could not keep tha money too pay tax with & money has becom so hard too git that a common man can not git it I tride for two weaks too borrow money & found it was invane now yo know that if I take Judgment aganst these

men that i have stilled for tha will stay it & some of it will stay six months & and that yo know will keep me behind time nearley all that i still was for other peopel tha are good for the money bu the thing is to git it in time I intend too pay tha last dollar if i can have time too sell my property it wont pay one tinth of tha money too sell for reddy money thir is only now & then a man that has got any money too by with & just what he is amind to give it has too go for & tha thoughts of being broke up hurts my feelings tha worst of any thing that i ever met with except sicknes or death tha hundred & fifty acors of land that i bought i give it too my too suninlaws to live on and now it look very hard too turn them of with severrel littel Children with out pay for thir work & nothing to help them selves with from the Promis tha tha President had all ways had mad Declaring that all loyel pepe & ther Property should be Pertected but it Don look so now seeing tha younion men brok first now if thire is any petection too be had I would thank yo & tha President & tha govne & all of tha Loyel Peopel too feel tha effect of it as for seesesion I have no more youse for them than a Christian has for Hell and Damnation I would like too hear from yo too now what yo thing will becom of tha popel in regard too this tax yo now our money is Destroid & we have no chance if the treasure money would go for half what i give for it i could pay all of but yo see it is Right me a few lines if you peas, so nomer only remaining your friend

July 28 A D 1866.

To A. E. Rhodes.

RALEIGH *July 29/66.*

Railroad Directors.

I thank you for your cordial letter of the 26th inst. just received. I have heard there was some discontent in Morehead. I had no idea it was so deep and universal as you represent, and I fail to perceive that, with the lights before me, I was guilty of a reprehensible error, if I com-

mitted an error at all. I am as anxious for the prosperity of Morehead City as any citizen of N. C. and the generous support of its inhabitants last Fall endears them to me. The complaint, as I understand, consists in the appointment of Ramsey and Murdock and the omission to appoint Dr. Arendell and Mr. Thomas. Let me review the views which controlled my action. The friends of Mr. Thomas represented that he was managing the Road much better than Mr. Whitford had managed it. The friends of Mr. Whitford made the exact opposite representation. The friends of the former insisted that the old directory managed the road to build up Newbern and damage Morehead City—The friends of Whitford made the exact opposite representation. I heard the representations of each side with patience and candor. No such proofs were furnished me as enabled me to know which was right. I am armed with no powers of investigation by which I could ascertain what was the truth. What seemed to me to be the very best evidence of the rival competitors was the resolution of the Stockholders at the time of the election of Mr. Thomas, as President, *unanimously,* (Mr. Thomas being present), applauding Mr. Whitford for his skill and fidelity in the management of the road. This I regarded as incontrovertible proof of his merits and I deemed his displacement entirely attributable to the political or personal hostility of Mr. Holden. This seemed to warrant my nomination of Mr. Whitford as a Director, but on reflection I concluded the individual stockholders ought to understand better than I could the merits of the two competitors, and I therefore resolved to nominate neither of them, and leave it to the stockholders to elect one or both or neither of them. Mr. Whitford had much more just ground to complain of this than Mr. Thomas. I hear it is alleged that I knew this would result in the election of Whitford and the rejection of Thomas. This allegation is untrue. Wholly irrespective of the fact that Whitford had supported me and that Thomas had not, my friends in Morehead or else where

cannot justly complain that I left each of the competitors to their chances of election by the stockholders. As to the appointment of Ramsey, he had long been a director, and was an original subscriber for stock. I had not heard that his appointment would be unacceptable to a single citizen of Carteret, so far as I can remember. Many pressed his appointment on me, fearing I would proscribe him because he voted against me. If this appointment was unfortunate for Morehead my friends there have no cause to complain of me on account of it. I appointed Mr. Murdock because I regarded him as an eminently fit man, a large stockholder—an owner of considerable real estate in or near your city, a brother of one of your best citizens, a particular friend of Govr. Morehead, whose interests are identical with those of your city—Your citizens had not suggested a name to me—and I expected the appointment would be eminently acceptable to you. Dr. Arendell had little stock. I did not think that he expected me to appoint him. Not a citizen of Morehead, to the best of my recollection, had asked me to appoint him. I did not think he held, in the legitimate spirit of the charter, the stock required to make him eligible. If it be alleged, as it has been, that one of other appointments—that of my friend C. C. Clark, was illegal because he was not the owner of 5 shares of stock, I reply that my information is that he did own the required amount of stock—and believing him to be a high-minded and honorable gentleman I believed he would not countenance any unfair proceeding to favor his town and prejudice yours. You mention no complaint as to my other appointments.

I have this consolation that I discharged my duty conscientiously and to the best of my judgment—No mortal could have done it satisfactorily.—Nothing pains me more than the removal of my friend Dill. I am greatly surprised at it. I thought he was a universal favorite with every body interested in the road, and particularly so with Mr. Whitford.

If I have the honor to be re-elected Govr., I shall ask the Genl. Assembly to confer on the Board of Internal Improvement powers of investigation in relation to our public works whereby that board can act with better lights.

As to the bridge, Mr. Whitford informs me it is so insecure that he deems it criminal to hazard the lives of passengers in the cars on it; and that he had two hundred hands preparing timber to repair it. Now if his facts be true, I perceive no just ground of complaint.

You speak of "discriminating against a good harbor in favor of the port of Newbern, in whose deepest waters a tall man might wade with dry hands." I will not suppose that you mean that I would favor or countenance any such discrimination. If it shall be made to appear to me that any director favors such discrimination, he will never be re-appointed by me. There should be no discrimination in the management of the road to favor or to prejudice either port. Each should have a fair and equal chance to profit by the advantage of nature and the enterprise of her merchants.

I am astonished and grieved at the removal of T. Arendell and Murdock, if they are such men as I believe them to be. I will make inquiry about it.—Is it just to infer from my appointment of Murdock that I considered Carteret as having no other citizen, save Ramsey, fit to be a director? Nothing was further from my thoughts. From the information before me I suppose he would be as acceptable to you as any body I could appoint.

I have taken much pains to explain. In the innumerable difficulties I have had to encounter I have heard of no important complaint, save what comes from Govr. Holden and my late friends in Carteret. I had no right to expect to be able to give such general satisfaction. I hope my friends in Morehead will look over the whole field of my duties and have some charity for what they deem a great error to their prejudice.

There are 24 political news-papers in the State. Of these 15 have declared in favor of my re-election—2 against it—and seven as yet have taken no position. Five of the seven will probably sustain me, and two—the Newbern *Times* and Hendersonville *Pioneer* will probably take ground against me.

MOREHEAD CITY.

To D. F. Caldwell.

RALEIGH *July 29/66.*

I learn with real pain and concern from our friend Genl Gilmer that I have done or omitted to do some thing from which you infer that I feel some coldness towards you. I know not of what apparent inattention or impropriety I may have been guilty which has given you this impression. I know no man towards whom I have felt at all times more unalloyed kindness than towards yourself. I always have had and still have the very highest respect for the honesty and independence you have always exhibited both in personal and political life—And if you have construed any act or word of mine at variance with these declarations, it has been a misconstruction.

Assurance of friendship.

You may not have received answers to some of the interesting letters for which I feel obliged to you—simply because, with only one clerk, it is literally impossible for me to do justice to my correspondents.

An effort is being made by divers petitioners sent to the President—by ex-parte evidence taken by agents sent out for the purpose by the present military commandant of the State,—by a portion of the press and in divers other ways which gives it the appearance of pre-concert, to make the impression that Union men cannot have justice in our Courts—and hence that martial law must be continued—that we are so disloyal that we ought not to be reed into the Union, etc. I am doing all I can to counter-act it. I would ask the General to let me send an agent with his

to insure fairness in these investigations if I had power to appoint and pay such agents.

GREENSBORO.

To Colonel James Wren.

RALEIGH *July 29/66.*

Yours of the 26th inst. is just received in which you quote me as saying you participated in a meeting at Long's Mill to nominate Mr. Holden as Govr. and add "that is not true." I have no copy of my letter to you. If I asserted as you quote me (not that I was informed or had heard) but as of my knowledge that you participated in the meeting, it was a strange slip of the pen. In the form in which you quote me, if I am truly quoted, your answer is, perhaps, sufficiently courteous.

In reply to my friendly inquiry what I have done to forfeit your confidence you frankly say "I have always been a Whig or Union man and you are the great leader of the Secession or Rebel party. I think that explains the whole matter." In reply I adopt your terms—"that is not true."

Review of his attitude towards secession.

I had expected a more courteous answer from an old friend. If you had asserted that you *believed* I was the leader of the Secession or Rebel party, and assigned a reason for that belief, your answer would have been respectful and becoming James Wren as I once knew him.

You cannot be ignorant that I have always opposed Secession publicly and privately—You cannot be ignorant that my late competitor did more prior to 1861, than any other man in this State, to inculcate Secession and abuse the Whig party.—You know or ought to know that every Secessionist in the State who voted for me in the late election for Govr. voted for me not as a Secessionist, but as an unwavering consistent Union man in preference to a renegade from their party. You know or ought to know

that most of the old consistent Whig Counties gave me a majority.

The horrid war being now over in which so many cruel wrongs have been inflicted, it becomes all good men to try to forgive their enemies—allay animosities and to restore brotherly love between man and man and section and section—instead of indulging hatred and malevolence. All who cultivate these feelings will live happier and be better prepared to die.

To J. J. Jackson.

RALEIGH *July 30/66.*

Concerning financial matters.

I have accepted invitation to be at Springfield next Saturday and will give them a short off-hand speech. Have no time to prepare a regular one.

My idea is—and it is very decided—that U. S. currency will fitfully depreciate indefinitely and hence I think sales on credit, payable in U. S. currency, will invariably result in prejudice to the seller. Sales on time should be for specie. Between the time of our sale of cotton to Mendenhall and the present, currency has depreciated some 20 per cent. It will not be strange if, by the day of payment, it shall be depreciated 50 or 100 per cent. Nothing can be more precarious than a note payable in the currency of the U. S.

If you contract to sell any more cotton, on credit, let the note be payable in specie, so far as I have any interest in it.

I cannot sell gold for silver at a higher premium than 5 per cent.—As I have the money on hand I desire to stop interest. I think I shall sell my gold and carry up my silver when I go to Springfield. My debts to Rush are nearly twice as much as I supposed. My specie debts will exhaust my specie.—Dr. Roberts is directed to send the goods at Roxana's to you with invoice. My loss will be very severe.

POST SCRIPT

There are many democratic secessionists who would vote for Genl. Cox as against me and Holden and his zealous followers will join in it. Cox is an original secessionist of democratic stripe and was a Brigadier in the late war: a man of slender capacity and no experience in civil matters. If I have any opposition I think it will be Cox, backed by Holden. If the Holdenites prefer to bring out a man (now exceedingly improbable) Cox will not be run. If he run as the coalition candidate, the *Progress* and *Standard* and perhaps the Rutherford *Star* and Henderson *Pioneer* and Newbern *Times*—all radicals, except the *Progress* which is secession, will support him. It is possible the Charlotte papers and Wilmington *Dispatch* may sustain him, but all the *honest* Holdenites and the wiser and better secessionists will support me—15 of the 22 political papers in the State are out for me. Two, the *Standard* and Rutherford paper against me. The Newbern *Times,* Wilmington *Dispatch, Progress,* and the two Charlotte papers are on the fence.

I regard opposition by Cox as not at all formidable—I am not sure if he run alone that public good will grow out of it.

From George Howard.[1]

TARBORO, N. C. *July 30 1866.*

You mistook my address and wrote to Wilson. After remaining there some time your letter was forwarded here. I have written Major Durham (ed. *Carolinian*) and sent your letter to him. He is your friend and will do you justice during the campaign.

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[1] George Howard, of Edgecombe, was a Superior Court Judge from 1859 to the close of the war. He was also a member of the Conventions of 1861 and 1865.

To P. H. Winston.

RALEIGH, *July 30/66.*

I recd on the 24th inst. a notification from the Asst. Sec. of the Treasury that upon the recommendation of Hon. Jno. Pool, Stark B. Smith had been confirmed as surveyor at Windsor before my recommendation of E. L. Simmons was received.

Regarding election prospects.

The only name now agitated for Govr. against me is that of Genl. Cox, brought forward, but only contingently endorsed by the *Progress*. The Editors in effect say they prefer him to me and think in a single handed race, he would beat me—but that in event the Holdenites bring out opposition, he is opposed to a triangular contest and would support me. In other words he prefers a wool-eyed democratic secessionist to an old time Union Whig and much prefers me to a Holdenite.

I think the Holden party will not bring out a man and the chief and many of his followers will encourage Cox to run and in the event of his consenting, will support him. I think I have nothing to fear from such opposition. I understand Cox is vain and confident as to the result and shall not be surprised if he be my competitor.

WINDSOR.

To Judge D. F. Caldwell.

RALEIGH *July 30/66.*

I have notice that your pardon is granted and that the warrant will be forwarded very soon.

SALISBURY.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH *July 30th 1866.*

On the return of Gov. Swain from your city some months ago, he made to me a verbal report of the result of his mission which included sundry matters—among others the looking after our land scrip. He informed me he had employed John H. Wheeler to look after and receive for the State, Gov. Vance's letter book and other documents of the State carried off by the military—and that he had got you to look after the land scrip. This is what he tells me was his report to me, of the accuracy of which report I entertain no doubt—but when I acted on it a few days afterwards, my memory was that Mr. Wheeler had been engaged by him to attend to both these matters, and I think I so wrote to Mr. Wheeler. I regret the mistake—but feel sure you will not misconstrue me. As Mr. Wheeler has been giving attention to the land scrip under my letter, it seems expedient that the power of atto. to receive it issue to him. This power of atto. issues from the Treasr. Mr. Battle who fears you may feel hurt about the matter. I hope and expect you will excuse my error.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

From W. T. Caldwell.

STATESVILLE N. C. *July 31st 1866.*

Conditions in Western North Carolina.

I have been informed that certain persons have been endeavoring to prevail upon the military authorities at Raleigh and Washington to believe that they are not safe under the present administration of Justice in our State.

I cannot speak for other circuits of the State but I think I can give you an intelligent opinion about how just it has been administered in the 6th Judicial District.

Judge Mitchell in his charges to the Grand Jury,

drew to the attention of the public, the importance of submitting cheerfully to the situation and to the laws of the State, and urged upon the people mutual forebearance and forgiveness and his influence was so great on account of their high appreciation of his great personal worth—the asperities among the people towards each other seemed to be greatly appeased, and the Grand juries acted with commendable liberality. This was more especially the case in the mountainous counties of the circuit, where a diversity of political feeling had existed.

In the prosecution of our several duties the Judge and myself endeavored to impress upon all that we knew no man's present or former politics. And I have yet to hear of a single complaint against either of us, except in two instances, one from Yadkin—Jesse Dobbins and others—and one from Union—John Madlin and others.

These parties were *indicted during the war* for homicides. They were charged with having killed Confederate or State troops, who were endeavoring to arrest and secure them as soldiers in the Southern army—believing them in both cases to be protected by Gen. Grant's Gen. Order No. 3, with the approbation of the Judge I caused them to be discharged and directed the Clerks not to issue or serve any process upon them in the cases—I yielded implicity to the order and they are secure. But from want of confidence in the civil officers, I suppose, they seemed to press their situation upon the attention of the military authorities, and in consequence I have received sundry special orders from Headquarters to desist from their prosecution—the very thing I had already done without any special order.

I can assure that no man has been allowed by Judge Mitchell or myself to be *persecuted* and no man has been *prosecuted* for opinion's sake.

There were several men in the counties of Ashe, Wilkes, and Alexander who had served in the Union army and after their return last year, some of them who probably

thought they had enemies to punish committed depredations of various kinds, and they have been indicted by the Grand Juries. But as far as I am able to learn these instances were rare and they closed pretty much with the full reorganization of the State Government.

And I can assure you, that there was never a more quiet, civil, loyal—law-abiding people—citizens of any State, than have been the people of this circuit during this present year. Of course many bad men are in all States and communities but we have had no political or other disturbances —and the people instead thereof have been and are now devoting themselves more assidiously than ever to their various pursuits.

This much I have written not only in justice to Judge Mitchell and myself but of the people of our circuit.

From D. F. Caldwell.

N. B. I have not time to read over and I may have made many mistakes as I have had to write in great haste

Greensboro, N. C. *July 31, 1866.*

Review of his position and discussion of public sentiment.

Your kind letter of the 29 instant has just been received, and I make haste to reply. And you must pardon me for speaking plainly and wishing what I say to be considered in *strict confidence between us.* If my course from my infancy has not been such as to convince you that I was not only your friend, but that of all your family I do not know how I could by acts satisfy you of that fact. I labored, *that's the word,* for you against Dockery and during the last war defended you when I heard you slandered and denounced as a d—— Nantucket Quaker Tory and Traitor, etc., when such defence endangered my personal welfare and happiness, if not my life. I have

within the last 15 years recommended you through the papers and elsewhere for more than one position. I did my best to keep the conservative party united by trying to have a conv. made on my own hook—While your particular and bosom friends ignored me altogether—still I worked on for *you*. I stood by you in the Fisher controversy to the last and if needed I would have done service. At the last session of the Convention I did all I could to keep opposition down. And at your own request I went to Randolph and made two speeches for you that done me no good in a professional line, as I have reason to know. And yet I did all cheerfully. And why, because I honestly believed that you were an honest patriotic union-loving and unselfish patriot, who would rather be right and do right than to be president of the *United States*. I never dreamed that when you were approached and most respectfully asked to consider the propriety of acting, or recommending action on certain suggestions relative to the swamp land and other matters of vital state interest that you would turn on your feet with the remark "That these measures, as all the suggestions I had made you thought had some merit in them but that you could not now in the midst of the impending campaign—but after the election was over—you would be glad to have any news, etc. You then turned to your table and from that hour to the hour of my departure for home, though often in your room never spoke to or noticed me again, that I now remember. This I thought decidedly cool, especially when I witnessed the great familiarity that existed between yourself and many others. Many of whom I have heard speak of Jonathan Worth long before and under different circumstances. Then again the appointments that you have ignored all the doctrines and principles you have heretofore advanced and advocated. You came down upon Fisher and others for appointing new Directors on the N. C. and other Rail Roads, who had done nothing for them

and had no *stock*. You also had much to say against Mr. Moore the doer of odd jobs about the shop and brothers. And you appointed the Dr. a *Director*. Besides I know of no man that you have appointed Whig or Locofoco that was not opposed to the course you approved during the war except Kerr and Mendenhall. Talk of *friends and friendship* in this connexion is to outrage all the better feelings of the heart and insult the spirit of our honor and manhood. There is not one of your appointees, excepting the two I have named, that would have thought you worthy to fill any post of honor in State, Nation in or out of the State. Nor would they have then voted for you. I have always tried to act consistently and live so that the most malignant of my enemies could not find anything to say against me. Yet I have suffered the gravest indignities from the hands of some of your appointees, for the part I took for peace and regulation, etc. They even *blate* at me in the streets as if I were a sheep. They are all my deadly political opponents and labor to drag me down at all times. Such men as myself who voted for you and cannot approve of the course of Holden and the ultra men in Congress—even persecuted hated and pursued in every way and whenever an opportunity is afforded Dr. Mendenhall, my brother and myself have been *blessed* by some of them in no uncommon way, especially the two former. Or great falsehoods have come to my ears. In short, the honest, consistent union men, as well as those who did not go with us, for your Excellency against, have been singled out and are today hated and denounced in the most bitter and malignant manner. And the decree has gone forth from the lips of your great leaders, that all who thought and acted with you, as union men during the war shall be branded as *Cain and sink,* to rise no more as *politicians*. They are all traitors Tories, Redstrings, so called Union men, or poor white trash. And these are the men that your Excellency delighted to know and hath honored above all others. These things

with the treatment you gave me led me to remark more than once in the presence of our *friend* Genl. Gilmer that you had disappointed me in the course you had pursued. That I hoped when you were elected that you would devote yourself to bettering the condition of N. C. rather than acting the part of a partizan politician. And I was honestly of that opinion—hence the alacrity with which I have always up to the present hours given you my support.

And it pains me to know that you have so exerted yourself and distributed your favors, as to prostrate many, very many, true union men in the State. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, aided others by giving them position and influence, to prostrate many of your old friends for the *present*. But as regards myself though my name may be cast out as well and though I may have suffered much in person and reputation and may still have to suffer much reproach and shame for the course I have pursued I am not ashamed of it or any of those who stood by and with me nor shall I desert or denounce them. Never, no never, nor will I for any consideration reward these enemies and bitter rivals with all the honors. I have to confess that I prefer like Moses to suffer the reproach of the righteous forever than triumph for a campaign or two with those enemies. I have spoken plainly but not half as pointedly as I might and I hope you will not for so doing. The times demand it. Nor do I wish you to suppose that for noticing and deeply regreting your many inconsistencies and bringing some of them to your notice, that I am not your *friend* for such is not the fact. But I would have you believe that I am no *Toady* or hanger on power. Nor do I think it wise or prudent to aid a miserable old sullen aristocratic clique to continue their sway in N. C. forever. The convention that was called to restore the State to the Union, the convention that refused to endorse Holden and that brought you out and elected you did not nor do even now think so to my certain knowledge. And I do know that when Gov.

Graham, Judge Manly, Ruffin and hosts of such men let no man of influence or fit occasion pass to denounce and belittle that patriotic body of men and all they have done it will not be quietly submitted to. I have thus far exerted all the influence I possess to keep down opposition to your Excellency and allay party excitement and sectional biliousness. And so I shall continue to do. But if the secessionalists and your political friends continue to denounce the members of this Convention and constitution as they have and are, in and out of the papers I feel confident that you may look out for opposition. This I repeat I shall regret. But you will have none to blame but yourself. You have been so exceedingly anxious to keep the secessionalists from bringing out opposition to you that you are likely to *force* your old union friends to unite on some one who will not contribute so much to aid these enemies *"to bury them so deep that they shall never see a political resurrection."* I can never go with the ultras in Congress nor shall I ever contribute to raising a clamour against the conservative men of this State. It is true many of them are honest and poor and uninfluential as I am and weigh but little in the political scales when compared with the great and influential characters who are so blessed with talent that they are fit, and only they, to rule, both in State and field in the Union or in the Confederacy. And that they are consistent and honest and worthy to be trusted at all times in all places, I do not think so—Some of these men I know are corrupt and——————— but I will say no more. Now you have my honest sentiment and true feelings and from one who has always proven himself to be your friend, *under adversity and persecution.*

To J. J. Jackson.

Raleigh, *Aug. 1/66.*

Concerning the appointment of Directors.

We have imposed on the board of Internal Improvement the duty of appointing four directors for the C. F. & D. R. Nav. Co.

Whether such directors can do anything in the way of saving fragments and preserving a part of the works I am ignorant. From what I have heard, the works above Buckhorn are in good order, and if so, I should think this part of the River a good feeder to the coal-fields road and to the Chatham road which I suppose will be finished at no very distant day. It has occurred to me that those two corporations ought to feel a deep interest in preserving these works and hence I am thinking of making Genl Cox. and H. L. Myrover, the presidents of these roads two of the directors of the C. F. & D. R. Nav. Co. I had also been thinking of making you and such other person as you may suggest, the other two. It would be attended with some trouble for you for which you would find no other compensation than the consciousness of contributing something in keeping alive an enterprise in which you have always felt a deep interest and the free travel on all the roads which I believe is always accorded to directors in all the public works.

Let me hear from you at large on this subject at an early day.

P. S. I am in deep water, trying to counteract a concerted scheme to prejudice the State and fix the military on us, by proving by *ex-parte* statements and petitions that the loyal men (so-called) cannot have justice in our Courts. Our present military Commandant, Gen. Robinson, has had out and probably has out now, military subordinates, taking and reporting to him affidavits and statements to establish this fact. Gen. Grant's order of July 1/66 enjoining on all officers in the States lately in re-

bellion, to arrest all persons guilty of offenses of which our Courts have taken no cognizance and hold them in custody until a proper judicial tribune shall be ready and willing to try them, which seems to contemplate no warrant or preliminary trial and to allow no bail, treats these states are still on martial law. Gen. Robinson claims in official letters to me that the military has the right to decide whether our judges fail to discharge their duty and to depose any of the civil authorities of the State. I have addressed a strong remonstrance to the President. I am not over confident that he will disapprove these assumptions of military domination over us. My time and capacity to manage the difficulties surrounding me are heavily taxed. I think I am maintaining the dignity of my position with due regard to prudence.

[P. S.] All prospect of opposition to me is narrowed down to Gen. Cox, in the contingency that the Holdenites bring forward no candidate. He is confident of beating me single-handed, because he was a soldier and secessionist. I know no man of standing who encourages him and no journal (save *Progress* and *Standard*) which would support him.

Pittsboro.

To J. A. Butner.

Raleigh *Aug 1 1866.*

I herewith return to you as requested your interesting letter on the subject of grape culture and wine-making in North Carolina, and feel complimented by your design to address your communication on the subject, to me.

Your design is a truly praiseworthy one and you have

my heartiest good wishes for a successful issue in your efforts to help our poor old State. I authorise you to use my name as you propose.—

Whiteville.

From B. S. Hedrick.

Washington, D. C. *Aug. 1, 1866.*

Yours of the 30th is received. Col. Wheeler and myself "harmonize" and although I did not, until your explanation, understand the matter fully, still I was very willing that the Col. take charge of the Land Scrip matter. For the trouble was I think with the Commissioner of the Land Office, who was not pushing the matter as he should, and with him I believe Col. Wheeler would be able to exert more influence than I could. I do not believe the Sec. of the Interior was in fault at all. In fact I know he was not. But the Com. of the Land Office, when I saw him, had by far too much to say about the "State Agent", and seemed rather cross. The present acting Commissioner is an old friend of Col. Wheeler, and the matter is as safe in his hands as it could be in any ones.

P. S. I have a letter from Starbuck, who says that so far as Forsythe is concerned, the Courts in no way favor "Secesh" against the Union men. A few rowdy *rebs* attempted to prevent the celebration of the 4th of July, by the Union men in Salem. But in the end the Union men came off the victors, and the rebs, had to knock under. If there is any grounds for complaint, I judge it is more likely to be in Stokes than any of the counties this (East) side of the mountains. When I was in Davidson last winter there were some complaints that the Union men were more hardly dealt by than the rebels for offenses committed before the end of the war.

To William A. Allen.

Raleigh *Aug. 1 1866.*

Yours of the 18th June was recd some time ago. I was unprepared, without a good deal of investigation and [*word illegible*] then to answer the legal question you propounded. I deferred answering hoping I should soon find leisure to prepare an answer which could be of any service to you. As often happens in cases of such [postponement] I find my answer has been too long delayed. Since the coming here of the new military commandant I have been beset by embarrassing difficulties of the worst character, requiring the exercise of all my faculties, mental and physical. I regret I have not time to give you particulars. The tendency of his measures has been to impeach the impartiality of our Courts and juries and hence to prove the necessity of a continuance of the military and of martial law. One of the agencies employed by him is the sending out of military subordinates to take ex parte statements from malcontents, which they reduce to writing and report to their superior. Other movements of like character warrant the suspicion that a concerted effort is being made to make the impression that men loyal to the U. S. government, cannot have justice in our Courts. The delicate and important correspondence, which this state of things has imposed, and which is at present inexpedient to publish, together with the innumerable duties growing out of our anomalous condition, superadded to the ordinary duties of the Executive, all which I have been performing with no increase of clerical aid beyond what has been employed for forty years past, requires the constant exercise of all my faculties. I say this much as an apology for my apparent neglect.

Difficulties of his position.

I doubt whether the land tax imposed on us during the war can be legally exacted—but this is a legal question requiring legal learning and research. As to the

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former, I make not much pretension; and the routine of official duty leaves me no time for the latter.

KENANSVILLE.

To D. F. Caldwell.

RALEIGH *Aug. 2 1866.*

Personal relations to Caldwell.

Your of the 31, distingiushed for the frankness which always characterises you, astonishes me beyond any thing I can remember in my past life. Oppressed as I am with many matters of grave import which I deem it inexpedient to give to the press and which I would gladly explain to you in a personal interview, I cannot methodically review your letter.

You recount your steady adherence to me through an humble career of almost universal *evil* report:—I have rarely had the fortune to be in good *report.* Your recital is true. None of it has escaped my memory. I acknowledge fully the claims you have on my gratitude. What you think of yr suggesting some scheme for the revisal of the same scheme that I established with personal discourtesy to you is an unbecoming solicitude to secure my re-election. I have a very indistinct recollection of the circumstances. I had regarded you as I do one of my own household. I had felt so entirely incapable of treating you improperly that I never thought of taking pains to avoid acts capable of misconstruction. I expected, if you thought I did wrong you would have pointed out my error to me, before you complained to others. You say in effect that I have exhibited kindness and consideration for my late political opponents and have given you and my old friends the cold shoulder:—that I have exhibited anxiety to prevent a contest with a secessionist opponent. —that my appointments excepting Mendenhall and Kerr, have ignored our old political friends and exhibited an undue leaning to those who formerly traduced and abused

me: that my action in relation to the public works of the State, are not in accordance with my previous profession. Notwithstanding all these evidences of want of principle and unworthy subserviency, you assure me you are still my friend. My dear Sir, if I am guilty of all these things I deserve to have no friends, any where on this green earth, If I have acted, as you suppose, as to aid the secessionists to override and trample upon Union men I do not deserve to be treated with consideration by any man.

These errors that you impute to me are so numerous and stated in such generalities that it would take a reply of inordinate length to answer all of them and it would take a wide review to meet the intimation that in the exercise of my patronage I have aided a "miserable old sullen aristocratic clique to continue their sway in N. C. forever"—I cannot conjecture to what action of mine you refer.

You certainly do not refer to my Board of Internal Improvement—Winston and Ramsey, according to my information, are and have been as consistent Whigs and Union men as my friend D. F. Caldwell of Guilford—Mendenhall you admit as one of the only two exceptions where I do not deserve censure. Major Husted was an old Whig—never a Secessionist—So also Stephen D. Pool. The latter entered the army—but *always* and *now* condemns secession. Surely you do not belong to that proscription class who would exclude from confidence all who aided the South after rebellion commenced. If so, the teste oath is right, and the latest constitutional amendment and the radical Congress are right—all which I believe you condemn as I do. This disposes of the most important of my appointments.—

You cite the appointment of Kerr as the other exception to the general rule of my conduct.

The matter of Directors.

As to the appointment of Directors on the R. Rs.—I appointed two democrats on the N. C. R. R.—One on the

A & N. C. R. R.—not one on the R. & G. Road—and, I think, only one on the W. N. C. R. R.—I am not certain as to the last—I confided much in Simonton and Ramsey as to this road, and have no personal acquaintance with some of the appointees Now if I violated in these nominations any principles I have ever professed, either in a political or a business point of view, I have not perceived it.—I have always maintained that the appointment of Directors should not be a political one—that fitness for the discharge of the duties should be primary—if *all* my appointments had been of my own political stripe I would have been justly suspected of abandonment of principle. The democrats on the N. C. R. R. are Berry, an old original stockholder and early director—and decided anti-secessionist—and Strange, a secessionist of mild stripe. I deemed the Wilmington stockholders, who had contributed so largely to the original stock, as having strong claims to a Director. I requested Mr. Wright, D. G. Parsley and Mr. Cowan to ascertain who would be acceptable to the Wilmington stockholders. I preferred he would be a democrat, as little objectionable as possible—They fixed on Strange.—

Various railroad matters.

You allude to the doer of odd jobs at the shops. I infer that Dr. Moore is some way connected with the Moore to whom I referred in my R. R. Report of 1859. If so I am not informed of it. He was strongly recommended to me by men whom you respect as well as I. He owned stock, not acquired to qualify him—lived at the point where a director ought to live, etc. He was anti-secession, my friend, etc. If I could have made a less exceptional appointment in Alamance, I know not who is the man. I appointed my old friend Coffin proxy for the State. He is and has been all the time, as I believe, as much opposed to secession and disunion as you or I.—You do not even include Lassiter and Bond with Mendenhall and Kerr.—But for your merciless denunciations of *all* my appointments (save Kerr and Mendenhall) I

should have counted confidentially in your approval of the nominations of Means, Roberts, Gilmer and Turner. I know not your objections to them and I cannot defend my action. You speak of my having "*ignored* my old and tried friends. I cannot conceive how I am justly obnoxious to this charge. The appointment of Adgt. Genl falls within your broad terms of censure. I am greatly surprised at it. I thought the nomination was universally acceptable. I presume you do not refer to a matter of so little importance as aids—nor can I believe that you refer to my nomination of men, to manage without pay, our mismanaged Lunatic Asylum. I do not believe a fitter board can be constituted for the purpose. I never knew a time when I would have made such appointments with *any reference to the political stripe of the appointees.*

I know you candidly believe what you have written. I hope on a review of the whole circumstances you will conclude you have misconceived or misconstrued my actions.

If my views as to public men and public measures have undergone any change, I am unconscious of it, or if any of my acts warrant or even give color for commentary, I do not perceive it. If I can be made to suspect that lust of office, has made me subservient and cringing—and discourteous to an old friend and as regardless of my political views as you suppose, I will at once withdraw my name as a Candidate for Govr. or any pretension to public honor or even personal consideration.

I assure you that I am distressed that I should have done any thing capable of the construction that I feel less cordial towards you than I ever did. I would not be more surprised if my brothers were to charge me with coldness and ingratitude.—

A concerted effort is being made by military officers in this State, by traveling about and taking ex-parte statements, to prove that our laws are not impartially administered. We have men among us, aiding in this scheme,

and getting petitions addressed to the Military Commandant of the State and the Prest. of the U. S., charging that Union men are oppressed in the adminstration of our laws. The object is to show the necessity of keeping in the State force enough to protect Union men. I entertain no doubt that these imputations are unfounded, and am doing my best to counteract the attack upon the administration of Justice.

I have no idea on what you rest your assertion as to my extreme anxiety to avoid a contest with a Secession Competitor. I am not aware of nesting or exhibiting such anxiety. I had the vanity to hope I was administering the government of the State as satisfactorily to our people as could be expected,—and have thought it the wish of the people that I should serve another term—and that many evils would grow out of a contest—and hence I hoped there would be no opposition: but if you have taken a fair view of my administration, I do not deserve a continuance of popular favor, or of personal respect among good men.—But I deny emphatically that I have been anxious or that I have done—or abstained from doing any thing to avoid a Secessionist being run against me. There were many good men of the same political faith as myself, who voted against me in the last election. I have taken some pains to satisfy them, by fair and legitimate means.

[P. S.] Your request that your letter be regarded as confidential shall be strictly observed.

GREENSBORO.

To James M. McGowan.

RALEIGH, *Aug. 2 1866.*

Yours of the 13th inst. was duly received. An extraordinary press of official dutes has prevented an earlier reply.

You state a case of extreme hardship but your trouble grows out of your omission to plead and exhibit your license at the trial.

I have no authority to offer the money refunded to you, —nor has any other officer of the State the right to do so. You have my sympathy but I have not the power to give you the relief you ask.

SMITHVILLE.

From William P. Bynum.[1]

LINCOLNTON, *Aug. 3, 1866.*

Conditions in Western North Carolina.

Your correspondence with General Robinson, including the report of Major Frank Walcott, one of the military commissoners sent to investigate alleged persecutions of Union men was handed me by Judge Shipp for my consideration.

Maj. Walcott's investigations were confined to the Counties of Watauga, Caldwell and Burke. These three counties constitute a part of the circuit of which I am prosecuting officer, and the reflections cast upon the administration of Justice in those counties call for some notice by the officer chosen by the State to enforce the administration of the criminal law.

The official report of the military commissioner makes a general charge that in these counties Union men are pursued with "malicious persecutions", while they have little hope of justice, and the courts of law are so closed against them that they make *no* effort to obtain redress.

I believe that Maj. Walcott is greatly in error both as to his facts and his conclusions.

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[1] William P. Bynum had been a Whig lawyer of Rutherford until 1861 when he entered the Confederate army, rising to the rank of Colonel. He resigned in 1863 to become Solicitor of the mountain district. In 1865 he was elected to the convention and later to the State Senate. He became a staunch Republican, and in 1873 succeeded Nathaniel Boyden upon the Supreme Court bench, where he remained until 1878.

1. His facts as to *Watauga* County.

He charges that a barbarous murder was committed upon Austin Coffee by the "Home Guards" which passed unnoticed—"no steps were taken to prosecute them."

Answer. A homicide is believed to have been committed on Coffee, but it is untrue that "no steps were taken to prosecute them". The grand jury made a presentment for murder against all the parties implicated, and it being impossible to procure the witnesses to the same term of the Court, they are summoned to the Fall Term in the regular course of the Court and the parties will be prosecuted as all other cases of the kind. I should violate all judicial propriety in prejudging the case by declaring before *trial,* that it was a "murder under circumstances of the most revolting barbarity".

Caldwell County.

1. It is charges by the report of Maj. Walcott that William Blalock is indicted for the murder of John Boyd, done *since* the war. The report declares that Blalock had been in the U. S. service, that he carefully examined the case and "a clearer case of justifiable homicide could not be made out", yet "it is believed that an unprejudiced trial could not be had, etc".

The report admits that the homicide was since the war, does not allege that it grew out of the discharge of any military duty or order on the part of Blalock. So it is simply an indictment against a citizen for killing another citizen of the State in time of peace. Whether it is a case of "clear justifiable homicide" is for the Courts to determine upon *sworn testimony* and the laws of the land.

2. *David Moore.* Indicted for stealing bacon. The "report" charges that he was a Union man and was with U. S. soldiers when the bacon was taken and that it was probably his own which had been taken a short time before by "rebels."

Answer. If the bacon was taken by U. S. soldiers under orders and Moore merely present, it is clearly not larceny or any offence at all, and if any such evidence is pro-

duced on trail, the case will certainly not be further prosecuted. But the evidence submitted to me was quite the contrary and made out a case of larcency or forcible trespass.

David Moore never complained to me or the grand jury, as I am advised, of any criminal wrong; if he had, the grievance would have been examined in due course of Law.

3. A man named *Benson* and two others are indicted in Watauga for highway robbery from the person of Mrs. Jonathan Horton, a most respectable lady. Col. Carr of the "Commission", reports that he was of the Union army and ordered to impress horses, and thereunder too Mrs. Horton's.

Answer. The evidence before me was, that if he ever belonged to the army he had deserted, and the robbery was under no authority but for his own private gain and done under circumstances of wanton outrage and cruelty. If on trial his claim of authority, etc., should prove true, he will be acquitted.

Burke County. Maj. Walcott reports that many complaints were made to me as Solicitor, by Union people, of wrongs and outrages, but that no steps were taken to redress them.

Answer. The statement is not true, as far as I am concerned. In every instance where complaint was made to me of a violation of the criminal law, I sent a bill to the grand jury, if witnesses were at hand, and if not at hand, I had them summoned to the succeeding Court. Whether complainants had been Union people or not, I never in a single instance, enquired. The only enquiry with me was, had the parties violated the law. I am not apprised that the grand jury acted differently, tho' upon that, I have no knowledge.

Maj. Walcott and Col. Carr reported that in the Superior Court of Caldwell, there were 180 *true bills* and 165 were against Union men! ! Surely these gentlemen

are mistaken. *I know they are!* The records of the Court will show that I sent *less than 40* bills and some of these were *ignored.* Whether they were against Union or disunion men, I am not informed; all I know is that they were sent against alleged violators of the laws.

In some counties, Burke for instance, bills were ignored by the grand jury, which the evidence before me, I thought, required the jury to find "true bills", but the jury were the judges of the credibilty of the testimony and I presume they were governed by that. I do not think any bill was ignored where the credibility of the witness was beyond question. Whether the ignored bills were against Union citizens or not, I am not informed.

It may be proper to state that an ordinance of our Convention saves from criminal prosecution all citizens who were in the Civil or Military service of the State or Confederate States for any act done in the proper discharge of the duties imposed on them by any authority purporting to be a law of the State or Confederate Government, but not from indictment on account of any *improper* or *illegal* execution of the law imposing such duties. See Ord. ratified 18 Oct. 1865.

I have strictly obeyed this law and have indicted no one who has acted *properly* in discharge of duties thus imposed. At the same time and in justice to the other side I have not knowingly indicted any one who acted in the proper discharge of any civil or military authority conferred upon him by the laws of the U. S. If any of the latter class stand indicted (I think there are none) it is by mistake and it thus appearing on *trial,* they will be promptly acquitted.

So soon after the termination of the war, it is natural that there should be some bitterness of feeling and under such influences, that there should be occasional acts of wrong and injustice in making indictments and presentments. But when such cases come before the *Judges* and *Juries* of the Country, I am convinced that not a solitary

instance has occurred where parties have been convicted, even from the "standpoint" of the "Military Commission". I speak from my own district. The further charge that Union men cannot obtain justice I know to be untrue. I have brot. suit in many instances in McDowell and Watauga, for Union men, for wrongs suffered by them as much, and in every instance have obtained complete redress, where cases have been acted upon. I am convinced that such will continue to be the case. So it has been in all indictments tried for criminal offences against them. If they suffer wrong (which I cannot say they do) it is confined to these *preliminary steps,* or *accusations* before grand juries. Such cases are never successfully prosecuted before the *Judges* and learned officers of the law.

I do not believe that there is much bitterness of feeling among the people, except in a few localities in Watauga, Caldwell, Burke and Polk, and if the *laws of the State* are left to the impartial administration of its *own officers,* I believe that discontent will soon subside in those localities. But if the people are taught to believe that they cannot obtain justice in their own courts and by their own laws, and that they can obtain their rights and their *claims* only before strange arbitrary tribunals unknown to our laws the danger and mischief that will result, can hardly be over estimated.

In regard to the number of bill of indictments in Caldwell County, I have said that I sent less than 40. It is probable that the error of the Military Commissioners in part, were from confounding the number of bills, with the number of men in the bills. A greater number of persons than 40 are probably indicted, as many are for riots, forcible trespass, etc., and the same individuals are often in several bills. It is probable that many are against Union men, some may be malicious, some false. These things occur in all periods of our legal history, and this, *if true,* is not an isolated or exceptional case. But these *accusa-*

tions by *ex parte* complaint, are not to be confused with *trial* and *conviction* before the appointed tribunals, when the accused and accuser are confronted by their witnesses and counsel. That any wrongful *convictions* have been made, is, I believe, not alleged.

From B. S. Hedrick.

[*Fragment of letter.*]

Aug 3d 1866.

Character of the opposition.

the wilful and sworn fidelity intending to violate their oath by cherishing the rebellion.

It has been the desire of President Johnson to secure union and harmony between the people in each State and between those of all the States, by as far as possible burying the past. With this design he has been liberal in granting pardons to those who acknowledged their faults and swore fidelity to the Govt. But the way matters are going in the South, all the peaceful efforts of the President are being brought to naught. The very men who have so solemnly sworn allegiance are ever seeking opportunity to insult the Union men, and falsify their own oaths by rebel demonstrations. If only the men who do these things were involved, I would not complain. But the result will be to keep the South in a perpetual state of War against the Govt. The demonstration at Warren Springs is a rebel celebration designed to honor rebels because they were rebels to honor Lee for acts which he himself has acknowledged with an oath were *wrong,* and for which he has sought pardon. If he had done no wrong he would have had nothing to ask pardon for.

It seems to me that the editorial management of the *Sentinel* must be a perfect babel. It is a perfect mixture of rebel, incendiary, Union, loyal, and every other sort of sentiment known among men. But for the *Sentinel,* the knaves and charlatans of the *Standard* and kindred sheets would die out for lack of food.

From L. L. Clements and J. Peace.

HAMILTON, MARTIN CO., N. C. *August 6th 1866.*

Being frequently asked the question if negroes were allowed to carry firearms (*a very common practice in this community*) and not knowing of any *Law* to the contrary I have thought I would refer to you for information. Knowing if I recd. my instructions from Head Quarters I should be right, in our little county I should not be at all surprised if there were 200 negroes with arms which the Free Negroes before the war would not have been allowed to carry. Your early answer to this obliges my neighbors and your obedient servant,

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To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH *Aug 6 1866.*

Desire to avoid anything tending to alienate the sections.

The fact you state that the North will regard as evidence of rebellious feeling here, the proposed demonstration in Warren on the occasion of erecting a monument over the grave of Genl. [Lee's] daughter, is decisive of my action. I desire to avoid participation in any proceeding of mere feeling, which is likely to receive, with or without, reason, a construction tending to keep up alienation between the sections. I had not supposed that demonstrations of respect for Genl Lee, furnished any evidence of disloyalty to the U. S. That nearly all the people of the South respect Genl Lee for his personal virtues and admire him as a great military man, it would be hypocrisy to deny:—and they do not regard the cherishing of these feelings as incompatible with their oath of allegiance to the U. S.—I go not into the discussion of this question whether it is reasonable to expect that the South is bound to regard its military leaders in the great rebellion as felons and treat them accordingly:—Certainly many good

men, as ardently desirous as you or I to restore the Union on the basis of mutual respect and cordiality, do not regard Genl Lee as a traitor in the odious sense of this term—They think they may cherish respect—even affection for him—with entire compatibility with the most steadfast adhesion to the Union.

I deem it my duty, however, in a matter of this sort, to respect Northern sentiment, whether sentiment be reasonable or unreasonable, and upon your representation I deem it improper for me to participate in the proposed celebration which, independent of this, I could not attend, on account of the pressure of my official duties.—

I sent to Thos. J. Wilson, of Forsythe the copy of the petition you sent me. I inclose a copy of his answer. The petition has not been referred to me by the President.

Washington, D. C.

To D. F. Caldwell.

Raleigh *Aug. 6 1866.*

Reasons for appointment of Directors.

You are mistaken in some of your facts. Lassiter was appointed by me—Mordecai was not.—Dick was not overlooked on account his having voted for Holden. I have the kindest regard for him. His name did not appear on the books as owning any stock—J. A. Gilmer had labored more than any body else to start the road. I never heard that he felt, much less exhibited hostility to you. He is the opposite of a vindictive man. You mention my omission to re-appoint King. In public speeches last Fall he denounced me as a Secessionist. My friends would denounce me if I had appointed a man who thus slandered me. I recommended him as Collector of the port of Newbern and my recommendation was effective. You say I have made "a clean sweep of all these men in office." I am persuaded you did not remember that I re-appointed Lassiter, Ramsey and Boyden, the only appointees of Mr.

Holden who held stock and were otherwise fit men.—I have not time to tell you why Thomas was unfit. I am sure I can satisfy you he was unfit—If I know myself, you are mistaken as to entertaining unkind feelings to just men who preferred Holden to Vance or to me. I think my actions do not warrant the conclusion—and I know nothing to be more unwarranted than the idea that I ever felt a moment's alienation towards you.

Greensboro.

From Council Wooten.[1]

Newbern, *August 6th 1866.*

Appointment of Collector at New Bern.

I have learned since my arrival at this place that there appears to be unfair dealing in regard to the office of collector of customs at this Port. I see it stated in the papers that R. W. King Esqr of Lenoir County had been appointed to that office and to my surprise I have learned since my arrival that a petition is being circulated to have a Mr. MeleRoy the present Deputy Collector appointed to that office. I am still more surprised since Mr. King has shown me a telegram from Washington City stating that Mr. Fuller the present Collector is to be retained. That some unfair means is being used against Mr. King to prevent his receiving the appointment I have advised Mr. King to apply to you to use your influence with the President that he may have justice done him in procuring the appointment. I take great pleasure in writing to you and to urge upon you to use all your influence to procure the appointment for Mr. King, as I have known him from a child up and I know him to be well qualified to fill the office as he is honest and industrious and his integrity cannot be doubted by those that is acquainted with him. And

[1] Council Wooten, of Lenoir county, was a great friend of Jonathan Worth. He had frequently been a member of the Legislature before 1860.

as to his Loyalty I know that he was always opposed to the war and was a strong Union man throughout the whole war as him and myself have had several bitter contest during the war he opposing the war myself advocating of it and the right of secession.

I have merely written you this letter as an act of Justice to Mr. King and I hope that you will see that Justice may be done him.

To Thomas C. Fuller.

RALEIGH *Aug. 7th 1866.*

Genl. Robinson verbally assures me, that he will express his disapproval and restore the mare to the possession of the law, if the accounts are not varied by a report from Capt. Hodge. He deems it proper to give Capt. Hodge an opportunity to be heard before he issues his orders.

He avers that his officers had taken jurisdiction of this case before the issuing of his order recognizing the jurisdiction of our Courts and upon the proof made, approves Capt. Hodge's decision.

He says he is at much loss as I am as to the bill of costs and will require an explanation.

I have brought the subject before him in official form and in due season will have an official answer—but deemed it best to have a personal conference. In this way collisions can sometimes be avoided, without compromising my personal or official dignity.

To R. Piermont.

RALEIGH *Aug. 7 1866*

Federal appointments.

Yours of the 3rd inst. is received.

I was requested in June last, by letter from the Assist Sec. of the Treasury to nominate a suitable person as

"assessor of the 1st Dist. of No. Car. in place of R. Piermont." The letter is before me. I had not heard nor have I yet heard any thing to your prejudice either as an officer or individual—and did not know whether you had resigned and did not know and had not heard how the vacancy had occurred or was expected to occur. I proceeded to make the inquiries necessary to enable me to comply with the request, and as the result of such inquiry recommended Jas. R. Parker, of Perquimmons, whose appointment, I think, has been confirmed by the Senate.

The first letter recd by me from the Assistant Sec. of the Treasury requested me to nominate an Assessor for the 2nd District. I will inclose copy of the letter on which I acted.

You will perceive that you have no cause to complain of me. I have done nothing in the slightest degree to cause your removal and have no information in relation to the subject not herein set forth.

ELIZABETH CITY.

To P. C. Holmes.

RALEIGH, *Aug. 8 1866.*

Regarding the return of horses.

Yours of the 23rd inst. was recd in due season. It would have been more promptly answered but for the extreme pressure of still graver duties.

I interposed last spring and got from Genl. Ruger a modification of the order from Washington in relation to the horse question.

First. He ordered that no citizen should be employed in collecting horses. This saved our people from the prying search of mean neighbors.

Second. He ordered that no more horses branded C. S. should be taken after a date, now long past, without special orders from head quarters here. This saved to our people a vast number of horses and mules.

Third. He ordered that no unbranded horses should thereafter be seized. This put a stop to the whole business. The unbranded horses the captors could sell and pocket the proceeds. No body would buy the unbranded. As soon as the chance to steal passed away, they did not care to be troubled and generally quit taking any.

As I understand your letter they are only collecting in yr County the horses and mules branded U. S. If so, I can give no relief, if the persons are acting by authority. The orders by Genl Ruger, I caused to be published. They are still in force. If they are being disregarded let me know by whom they are disregarded and I will appeal to the military commandant to stop it.

I am gratified to learn from your letter that my efforts to serve the State meet the approval of the people of Sampson. My late competitor is much less potent for mischief than he was a year ago. He is still doing us vast mischief abroad, and some at home by representing our distressed people as still rebellious—and our Courts as refusing justice to Union men:—Genl Grant's order of July 1—and many of the acts of Genl Sickles and Genl Robinson fill me with apprehension.

Clinton.

From D. F. Caldwell.

Greensboro, N. C. *August 9 1866.*

Outlining his reasons for dissatisfaction.

On my return from Randolph Court I found your letter of the 6 inst., which requires a few words of reply on my part. You constantly affirm that it was not your purpose to treat me with indifference or disrespect and so I must conceed notwithstanding all appearence and taunts of my political enemies. You also avow that you have ever treated with due regard and respect, such persons, as were known and hated by the Secessionists for their desire to do something, if possible to terminate the law war, in the

way of Negotiations. Well I will not call in question your word But this I will say. If there be one of your old political friends, who has taken any part in politics, has received any countenance or respect in this county, or any other that I know of, except Coffin I have not been able to call him to mind—I mean your friends during the war—You have lavished your favors upon Vance men and anti-Worth men—during the war Boyden, Ramsey and I believe Coffin and Kerr were all Vance to the last. In making these remarks I do not wish to be understood as advocating the claims of Holden men per see. I am not—for there were many that supported him as a necessity that were true and honest men and either gave you a direct or insidental suport and deserved better treatment than they have received. I do not alude to offices or salaries, etc. I mean respectful consideration and some little courtesy and kindness from you and your appointees. You seem to think that Dr. Ramsey, N. Boyden Mr. Coffin were the only men in Rowan that are embraced in the true conservative rank. In this you are mistaken. By the by the County of Rowan, as well as that of Orange, seems to be peculiarly fortunate in securing appointments from all quarters. Ramsey, Boyden D. A. Davis, Coffin, Murdoch Finley and I know not how many more. While Orange has *Berry* (A stockholder and original friend of the work &c. And my friend Turner (an original friend and stockholder). Webb—an original friend and stockholder and P. B. Ruffin another original friend and stockholder and I know not how many more of the same sort. I do not care to examine the list in Guilford. I will remark only that unless Mr. Gilmer has recently purchased stock—he holds but little if any if you had examined the books—do Strange, Turner, Moore, Berry—not more at any rate than Dick—I am aware that you appointed Mr. Lassiter But such were the nature of the other appointments as to oust him and Thomas and all others who had been

appointed not because they had been Holden men, but because they were known as union men. That is the point I make. I sollemnly believe as I know it to be the case that there has been and is a conspiracy on the part of the secessionists and the ultra old line War Whigs to brand and stagmatize in every way possible, all such men as sympathized and acted with you during the war and if possible degrade them for the part they took in endeavoring to bring the late unfortunate war to an amicable close. And here is my complaint and I assert that it is well founded. You have given them no aid, countenance, encouragement or suport in any way whatever in this county at least. On the other hand every thing has been done and is doing that could or can be done to disgrace us in the estimation of our constituents. And candor compells me to say I have heard similar complaints from others. As for myself permit me this one time to speak freely—I never asked any one for an appointment—nor do I ever expect to—nor did or do I deserve any But when I call to my mind whose sons it was that insulted and assaulted me—and how I have been denounced by certain men. And how they and I have differed as to your personal character, etc., I can but feel contempt for some of these and great surprise at the course of others. Every effort has been made to hold me and others out as radicals and to induce the world to believe that certain persons in this and other latitudes are the most conservative in the State. Whereas it is well known that there are not any more ultra haters in the State. But my dear Sir I hope to be able to survive all the efforts of my personal and political enemies to consign me and my personal and political friends to *Oblivion.* I have said what I have simply in reply to your letters. I assure you that I have no malice—though I have, as I consider been most shamefully treated by some "But let the hungry gray hounds snarl and snap" for their dirty grub, so their teeth touch not". One other matter You say that if you have acted as I have charged you do not

deserve any suport—Well that may be so provided the times had not become so wonderfully out of joint. I freely admit that ingratitude is a great sin—but it has been so fashionable of late for politicians to do most anything that may be expediant that I shall not hold you to a strict account, however justly this might be done Perhaps the only reason that I have for complaint is this that I expected Jonathan Worth to act the man and patriot a little more than the former, mousing trucklers who had filled the Executive chair of this State had done—and he has not come up to the mark exactly. I am free to admit that you have done about as well as your predecessors in making your appointments except in one respect. I will go further and say probably you have done as well as any one yet hereafter, hence I declared my purpose unless some cause for change is given, to suport you at the next election but surely if you and your particular friends do not deserve it I will in self respect refrain from bestowing it upon you. This was my purpose before you wrote to me informing me of Genl. Gilmer's statement of coolness to you, etc. Your relations are all well in Ashboro and the Messrs. Jackson and Robins all kept busy. I left Genl. Leach lying dangerously ill. He had a very severe congestive chill on Monday night and Dr. Worth said if he had another such he would die, but he succeeded in keeping it off and 'tis now hoped he will survive.

From J. J. Jackson.

Asheboro *August 9th 1866.*

Reorganization of the Red Strings.

I write you a line to give you some account of things here. I. I saw Andrew Burns on Monday morning. You are well acquainted with his *character.* He seemed to be very willing to talk. Said the "Red String" association was undoubtedly reorganized—that a short time since he

had a short talk with some man formerly a justice of the peace—that this man stated to him that Holden had been over to Washington City and returned and had sent them up certain resolutions, etc., etc., that no person could expose them—new signs, etc., etc.—further that Lindsay Cox had told him a short time before the election that he, Cox, was going to a large meeting of the order to be held that morning at New Salem, etc., etc. It is a significant fact that New Salem went for the Constitution by a vote of 140 or 150 to 1.

James Page says they are undoubtedly reorganized and organizing in his section and that he hears the objects of the order are to elect Union men to office and for mutual protection. If any of their number are indicted they will try and get on the jury, being sworn to acquit—or they will be witnesses for him and in case of necessity will secure a Dft of their order by force. He says that they are very strong in Montgomery and that it is a significant fact that the jail of that county has secretly been twice broken. He said moreover that it was understood that Capt. William Presly against whom I think certain indicts are pending in Montgomery County for stealing cotton, was anxious to be admitted into the order, as a means of protection—that he accordingly applied for admission—that the Lodge admitted him and passed a resolution notifying him on that he should be notified to appear at a certain time and place—that in the mean time Presly found out that if he joined them, he would have to swear not to prosecute certain members who had heretofore robbed him and that he accordingly declined joining them, etc. etc. Noah Smatherman says there is no doubt of there being such an organization in this section.

Knowing that Lewis Parks was a leaky vessel I asked him into my room and had a conversation with him. Page had told me that he was a member of the order. You know the character of Lewis, etc. He was quite

communicative. I am satisfied that there is a great deal of truth in his statement.

He states that there were such organizations—that he was an officer in one of their lodges—that there were a number in his section—that they already numbered 200 men—that there was a regular organization—however distinct Lodges—then a County lodge, having the control of all the lodges in the County, then a general State Lodge having the control of all the lodges in the counties. He said they had their regular officers—each lodge a President, Treasurer, Secretary, and that they had regular communications with all the other lodges, etc., in the county, or rather orders would come down from the County Lodges to the various District Lodges. He said that the Lodges even had their Lawyers picked out. He said Sellon was a member—that Sheriff Rush was a member, and I grieve to say it, he mentioned *Dick* as being a member. I asked him what was the object of the Society. He said that the great object was to secure the election of *Union Men to Office*. They consider all as war men who sustained Vance for Governor. He states moreover that the members could not prosecute each other—but were bound to do all they could for mutual protection, and that if any of them were in difficulties or their families in distress they were bound to aid them or see them out. I told him I had heard it said, that they were bound to swear for each other, and try and get on the juries of the county so as to secure each other from punishment, and to secure a member from custody, if need, by force. This he denied—Said there was nothing of it, etc.

I afterwards mentioned to *Dick* that I heard a certain man who said he was a member of this order, say that he Dick, was also a member—that I mentioned it in justice —he *laughed* and said "you mean your question to be in the nature of a 'Bill of Discovery'," "ah", said he, "you will hear it thunder next fall", "you secessionists and latter day war men". Scott told me he had heard Dick say

when asked who would be your opponent "Well we are waiting, etc., we will have out a man, etc. He says it will be Cox or Logan. By the by, Frank Caldwell is here this week and complains very grievously of your Railroad appointments. He said he was not against you, etc., but he thought you were completely ignoring all the Union men—that you ought not to consider it a crime for a man to have been an officer under Holden for that you were one, etc. and young Gilmer told me he had secret apprehensions that he was going over to the Radicals, etc., etc.

The constitution has been ratified in this county by over 100 majority as I hear—and I think if the vote was taken today the majority would be large.

Jesse Walker, Dot Jordan, Joel Ashworth and Blair and George Kinly are candidates for the legislature and Wren is spoken of. No doubt there will be others.

I had a conversation with Sheriff Rush. I told him I was going to write to you. He said I might say to you that you would carry the county by a large majority against any body but Settle or Dick—that you would carry the county by a considerable majority against any body, etc., Said Joel Ashworth was for you and Blair would go for you against anybody but Settle or Dick. Pennel Arnold told me to say to you, he was for you and all his people and all in that section were for you but these *Robbers.* Said that George Kinly whose Post Office was Hoover Hill, was the great man among them, very susceptable of flattery, etc., that it would be a good plan for you to adress him a letter in *general terms* (If you write don't say anything that could be *perverted.*) He, Arnold, said if you could make a speech some time during the fall at Rush's hill, Ninevah Rush, I think he said, it would do a great deal of good.

I omitted to say to you that Parks said every body in his section were for you for Gov. and Sam for the Legislature. This is nothing, however, Because, if the District Lodges are controlled by the *higher lodges,* they would

have no *choice*. I am still *unwilling* to believe that Dick is a member though he did not deny it.

Gen. Leach is here—very sick—his recovery at this time, Thursday morning, is regarded as doubtful.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *August 9, 1866.*

Continued ill-feeling in the State.

Yours inclosing copy of letter of Thomas J. Wilson has been received. The statement of Mr. Wilson agrees with that I have had from other sources, and he has evidently endeavored to make a fair statement. There must continue to be irritation and ill feeling, in many neighborhoods growing out of the past strife. But if those who control public sentiment will only labor to allay irritation, instead of inflaming it, there will be peace by and bye. I hope by another year the old questions of secession and anti-secession will give way to new issues. But just now the main thing is secure domestic quiet, and give the people a chance to labor and build up their fortunes a little. Holden's course in fomenting dissentions at home, is bad enough. But his continued effort to misrepresent the State abroad is worse, for there are but too many to believe him. I presume it will be known in a few days whether there is to be a Lieut. Gov. so that by Sept. 1, the opposition elements will try to bring forth a candidate. Holdens' plan when he was here was to bring out several candidates—One or two "War men", and a "so-called Union" man or Holdenite. For the last few weeks I am unable to see what he is driving at. But he must soon show his hand and then it will be time to undermine his plots.

The pardons of Judge Caldwell, William Boddie,

Froneberger and McNeely were signed yesterday, and I hope will leave here by to-morrow's mail. I saw the President to-day, but was not able to have much conversation with him. I endeavored to have him take up the matter of the West Point appointment, but he said he could not attend to it now and was afraid he would not have time before the 20th. I will try and see some of the officers of the War Dept. and find out what will be done in regard to all the Southern appointments for West Point.

There seems to be a *snarl* in regard to the revenue officers for the 1st Dist. Piermont is here to oppose the appointment of Mr. Parker, on the ground that Parker's endorsers are all rebels. Piermont is particular in specifying all the "disloyal" acts as he alleges of Col. Ferrebee, and represents Ferrebee as the person who wants Parker appointed. Piermont is about as inefficient an officer as can be found any where, and in the long run the people will suffer by his inefficiency.

To L. L. Clements, Esq.

RALEIGH, *Aug. 11th 1866.*

Law as to the possession of arms by negroes.

Yours of the 6th inst. is received. I find that Sec. 66 Chap. 107 Rev. Code, is in force under ours laws, except that the words "persons of color" are substituted for the words "free negroes".

According to the laws of this State, therefore, it is a misdemeanor for any free negro or person of color to wear or carry about his person or keep in his house any shot gun, musket, rifle, pistol, sword, dagger or bowie knife, without a license as provided in this section.

If this provisions of the 66 Sec. have been repealed by any law of this State, I am not apprised of the act repealing it. Whether any of the acts of Congress, (assuming them to be constitutional) operate as a repeal of this sec-

tion, I cannot say. My executive duties require such constant application that I have not time to give a critical examination to all the acts, State and National, which have sprung from our new Constitution. It would have been better if you had consulted the Atto. Genl. I will send this letter to him and ask his opinion on the question submitted.

From Sion H. Rogers.

RALEIGH, *August 14th 1866.*

Your remarks and letter to me of 11th inst were received by me this morning, also a copy of the letter of L. L. Clements of date August 6th 1866. In answer I beg leave to say to you that you will find by reference to the ordinances of the late Convention, that Sec. 66, Chap. 107 of Rev. Code is repealed.

In reference to the subject matter contained in the communication of L. L. Clements Esq., I respectfully refer you to the case of the State vs Huntly 3rd Iredell's law 418.

To J. M. Whitehurst.

RALEIGH, *Aug. 17 1866.*

Yours of the 16th ult. has just reached me.

Action of Bureau officials.

You fail to state the name of the negro who insulted you—also the place where you were tried and the name of the officer who fined you $50. You say you were arrested on the 14th and tried on the 16th July.

On the 13th July, upon my application Genl Robinson, the Chief of the Freedman's Bureau in this State, issued his orders turning over to the civil Courts of the State, all matters civil and criminal, relating to freedmen, excepting contracts for wages witnessed or approved by of-

ficers of the Bureau. The officer therefore tried you contrary to orders. If they will grant a transfer to our Courts or an appeal to a higher branch of the Bureau, I presume you will be relieved. If they decline to grant you an appeal or transfer let me know when and where the trial took place and who rendered the judgment, and I will try another mode for your relief. I do not gather from your letter what was the offence with which you were charged.

Beaufort.

To D. G. Worth.

Raleigh *Aug. 17/66.*

* * * * * * *

Roxana's negroes and others are about to steal her out of every thing. Young Sam was convicted and whipped for stealing one of her beef cattle. Bills were found against Primus and Joshua, his accomplices. They were not captured. She has had another beef stolen—and many hogs—besides many thefts of less consequence. The tenents on the Swamp place, I learn, have made a fine crop. At home and at the Bird place, which was rented to Chas. & Harper, not more than half a crop will be made owing to bad culture. I am distressed to devise the plans best for the management of her affairs.

We have heard nothing from Mary since I last wrote you.

I have had the residue of goods sent up to Sam Jackson to be sold for me. Corrinna came up with me. Dr. Roberts will come in a few days—I want to get him settled somewhere as apothecary with as little delay as possible.—

All well—I see no probability of opposition to my reelection.

W. H. Bagley to W. W. Holden.

RALEIGH, N. C. *Aug. 18th 1866.*

Gov. W. W. Holden,
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Sir

Your resignation as a Justice of the Peace of Wake County directed to Governor Worth, is herewith returned, the statute (Section 36, Chap. 62, Rev. Code) requiring such resignations to be filed with the County Court Clerk.

Very respectfully,

WM. H. BAGLEY
Private Secretary.

[*Enclosure.*]

RALEIGH, *Aug. 17th 1866.*

His Excellency Gov. Worth

Sir:

I respectfully ask leave through you to resign my commission as a Justice of the Peace for the County of Wake.

Very respectfully,

W. W. HOLDEN.

To Allen Jordan.

RALEIGH, *Aug. 20th 1866.*

Yours of the 8th inst.—post-marked the 16th, is just received. It is almost certain that the new Constitution is rejected. The election for Govr. and members of Assembly is to be held on the third Thursday of October, altogether irrespective of the result as to the ratification or rejection of the amendments to the constitution.

TROY.

To Colonel A. J. Dargan.

RALEIGH, *Aug. 21 1866.*

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Relating to State and National politics.

The Phila. Convention, I trust, is dispelling the clouds of Radicalism. Uncertainty still hangs over the question whether the amended constitution is ratified or rejected.

I would write you more at large but am so oppressed with duties that I cannot at present.

There seems to be no settled plan of opposition to my re-election. The last on it from Radical Head Quarters here is to bring out Logan on the mingled programe of White Basis and Radicalism pure.

WADESBORO.

From R. R. Bridgers.[1]

TARBORO N. C. *August 21st 1866.*

Requesting a pardon for O. W. Kenan.

Permit me to ask your kind offices in procuring a pardon for Col Owen R. Kenan of Duplin.

Col Kenan never held an office until he was elected a member of the Confederate Congress—he declined a re-election. He never was in the habit of taking a part in Politics. He was a strong administration man during the first Congress and was a very strong and open Anti-Holden man—and was recommended for suspension. He is as true to country as any man in it.

[1] Robert R. Bridgers, of Tarboro, was a lawyer of large practice before the war. He was a member of the Legislature in 1844, and from 1856 to 1861. In 1861 he was elected to the Confederate Congress. After the war he became President of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad.

To Sion H. Rogers.

RALEIGH, *August 21st 1866.*

Request for an interpretation of the election laws.

Two embarrassing questions of the gravest character present themselves to us, under the Ordinance of the Convention of the 25th June last, as to counting the votes for the ratification and rejection of the proposed amendments to the Constitution.

First—Are we required to open and count the votes on the 29th August (being 20 days after the second Thursday of August) whether all the returns shall have been received or not—or may we lawfully postpone the counting to such later period as we may deem reasonable, and receive and count returns which may come to hand after the 29th August and if you hold that we may receive and count returns made after the 29th Augt. how long may we lawfully postpone such counting?

Second—Should it turn out (as we have good reason to believe it will) that some of those returns are made without the Sheriff's having qualified to the same before the Clerk of the County Court as required by the ordinance, should we count or reject such returns?

The result of the election for or against ratification will probably turn upon the decision of these questions, and we therefore solicit your *well considered opinion* on them.

We have the honor to be

Yours very respectfully,

JONATHAN WORTH, Gov. of N. C.
R. W. BEST, Sec. of State
KEMP P. BATTLE, Pub. Treas.

To Nereus Mendenhall.

RALEIGH, *Aug 24th 1866.*

Defending his political position.

I regret that I could not have had a personal conversation with you. The imputations made against me by Holden and his followers that I am "playing into the

hands of the Secessionists"—"by giving all the offices to them" is untrue—and has not, as I think, any color of truth. Those who make the charges regard all men as secessionists, who cannot take the Congressional test oath. If this were the true definition I should be guilty. I do not rank as secessionists those who have combatted the doctrine at all times and resisted by all means in their power the inception of the war, but whose sympathies were with their own section after the war was begun. If the government is to be administered excluding from office all who sympathized with the South *after* the war begun, it would not be a Republican Government. I allow there is such thing as repentence in politics as well as in religion. Those who are *now loyal* to the government ought to be eligible to office, and the electors ought to be the judges who are so repentant. As a general rule the professions of a new convert are to be received with some distrust, until actions shall sustain professions. I always abhorred with equal abhorrence the Disunionists of the North and the South. It was the co-operation of those Northern and Southern factionists, with different objects, which involved the nation in war—filled the country with blood and mourning and entailed on us a national debt which must oppress us for generations. That Northern set of Disunionists, as I think, ruled the last Congress, and continued the severance of the Union, after the war had crushed the Southern Disunionists. I have no sympathy with the leaders in the last Congress any more than I had with the Secessionists of S. C. I never knew an hour when I did not believe that the Union ought to be preserved. I believe there never was a man more devoted to the Union than Andrew Johnson, and as between a vindictive Congress, and the policy of the President, my sympathies are heartily with the latter.

My patronage has not been used for the benefit of Secessionists. The most important office within my gift was that of State Geologist. I gave it to a man, whom I

believed to be well qualified—who like myself was an enterprising Union Whig and who voted for Holden on the notion of expediency at the time. Your Board consists of three men—all equally opposed to Secession but one, Pool—when war came, entered the Southern army and fought to the end. He is now as he always has been, opposed to Secession.

Ramsey and Winston, my Internal Improvement board, were always and now are as much opposed to Disunion as you are.

Of the numerous Directors on the Public Works, I appointed one Secessionist out of eight on the A. & N. C. R. R. He was a large original subscriber for the stock. On the N. C. R. R. I appointed one out of eight—at the request of the Wilmington stockholders—who had subscribed 1-10 of the stock—On the R. & G. R. R. every one of my appointees were old Union Whigs.—On the W. N. C. R. R., one out of the 8 directors appointed by me was a Secessionist. The proscriptive spirit which would exclude these men from all these in the management of their investment in the public works, would be unchristian and impolitic.

In creating a board to manage a public charity, (the Lunatic Asylum) I looked for men of intelligence; leisure —residents here—and distinguished for their personal virtues and benevolence. One of them Govr. Bragg, was a Secessionist and Mr. Mordecai was a strong war man, though a Whig.—They get no pay. The *Standard* made these appointments the subject of bitter invective. When I become so strong a partisan as to exclude such men from such a board I shall feel bound to exclude them from social intercourse with me.

If the meeting at Deep River was for the purpose of nominating delegates to the Sept. Phila. Convention, I regret that you participated in it. A kind feeling pervades the State towards the Quakers. I think at least nine-tenths of the people and nearly all the intelligence

of the State are strongly against the Convention and I do not perceive sufficient reason for your arraying the bad feeling of the State against you. I hope such may not have been the object of the meeting or that your action in it may not have been such as to produce prejudice against your Society.

The genuine feelings of my heart are expressed in the inclosed circular.

New Garden.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Raleigh *August 25, 1866.*

In regard to pardons.

I am urgently pressed to ask the President to grant pardons to Owen H. Kenan, A. T. Davidson and B. S. Gaither, members of the Confederate Congress. I can offer no reasons in favor of these pardons not equally applicable to Graham, Turner and Dortch. The members of the Con. Congress and most of those most prominent in this State for the disruption of the Union, have been pardoned: for instance, Wm. Johnson, W. N. Edwards, Geo. Davis, Bridgers, Venable, Arrington, and Lander and Craige was recommended for pardon and I suppose pardoned. I am not informed as to the granting of the latter pardon. I am far from complaining of these pardons. I have no doubt of the loyalty of these men now, but a Union worth preserving cannnot be brought about by continued severity to prostrate men, but I imagine no mode of policy or justice which warrants the discrimination which is made. I lately made an urgent appeal by direct letter to the President for the pardon of Graham Dortch and Turner. I have received no response of any sort. This appeal was made some four weeks ago. Whether it is regarded as an officious obstrusion on my part, or was disregarded from this cause I am ignorant. The fact that my appeal was not regarded or unanswered,

admonishes me to offer no further interference in cases where Gov. Holden had recommended suspension or rejection. Can you not get at the President's views. Many of our people whose pardons are withheld, often men in obscure positions and as loyal as any body, but hated by Holden on personal or political account, distress me by their importunity. If the President still regards Holden as friendly to his administration it is because he does not read his paper. His drift is manifest. He recommends the adoption of the Howard amendment, throws cold water on the Phila. Convention—encourages the appointment of delegates to the contemplated counter convention. He hopes again to get into power by the success of the Radicals and the overthrow of civil govt. of this State. I think the President, as an act of justice and of policy, ought to pardon all or very nearly all the petitioners from this State.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To C. B. Denson.

RALEIGH *Aug. 25 1866.*

Your polite invitation to attend the commencement exercises of your Academy has been recd.

I deem in my duty to do every thing I can personally and officially to advance the spirit of education in this State, and will endeavor to be with you on Thursday night, if possible.—I shall be delayed here all of Wednesday (and possibly Thursday) on indispensable official business (counting and reporting the votes on Ratification or rejection of the proposed new Constitution).

PITTSBORO.

From Sion H. Rogers.

RALEIGH *August 25th 1866.*

The communication of N. N. Adams Clerk of Northhampton County Court referred to me by you has been received and upon examination I consider that Thomas G. Tucker is still a Justice of the Peace and entitled to discharge all the functions of that office.

From Colonel William G. Moore.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON D. C. *August 26 1866*

I am reminded, by an inquiry of the President, that I failed to comply with his directions to notify you of his order of the 19th inst. for the release of Tolar, Powers and Watkins. I regret that in my desire to see that there was no delay attending the transmission of the order to the War Department, I omitted to give you prompt notice of the President's action. It is true that the newspapers, on the succeeding day, proclaimed the release of the prisoners; but the great interest you had taken in their case made it but just and proper that you should have been formally notified of the success of your efforts in their behalf.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *Aug. 27, 66.*

Pardon matters.

I cannot find any papers on file for the pardon of R. K. Jones of Wake. If Holden ever had the papers he probably suppressed them. It would therefore be better for Mr. Jones to prepare a new petition, have you approve it and send it on.

Inclosed is a pencil list of names of persons whose petitions I found in the Attorney General's office sometime ago, which Holden had recommended to be suspended. In all such cases it is generally better to file a new petition, rather than go to the trouble of revising the old one.

[P. S.] Was the pardon of Nathan Newby among the big lot sent in May lost? I wrote Mr. Bagley about it a few days ago. Mr. Newby is of Perquimans Co.

To General R. E. Colston.

Raleigh, *Aug. 28 1866.*

Concerning use of Commons Hall for a lecture.

Mr Guthrie has applied to the officers of the Capitol for leave to you to deliver a lecture in the Commons Hall on the life of Gen. Thos. J. Jackson, for an admission fee for yourself. We are severally admirers of the subject of your proposed lecture—but have in no instance granted the use of the Hall for the delivery of a lecture where a portion of the proceeds was not granted to some charitable purpose. If we depart from this rule you will readily appreciate the difficulties in which we shall be involved.

We think you will realise more from your proposed lecture and disembarrass us, if you propose to give half the proceeds to the Young Men's Christian Association of this City, who will use it for the relief of the indigent of the City. In this case the Association will be active in selling your tickets and we will with pleasure grant the use of the Hall to you.

Hillsboro.

To Nereus Mendenhall.

RALEIGH *Aug. 30/66.*

Political matters.

I see this morning in the *Standard* the action of the meeting at Deep River Meeting house.

The resolutions are cautiously drawn but the *action* of the meeting in sending delegates to the Phila. Sept. Convention repudiates the action of the late Phila Convention—and is in antagonism with the President. It in effect endorses the constitutional amendment which denies to the people of this State the right to elect as a Constable Frank Caldwell, W. A. Graham, Lewis Horner, the writer hereof and thousands of others of like stripe.

I do not doubt the good intentions of the actors in the meeting, but I deplore the fact that any prominent Quakers deemed it their duty to participate in a political meeting, having for its main object the exclusion from official position, as unworthy to be trusted, such steadfast friends of theirs as Gilmer, Graham, myself and others while it makes eligible to office the most ultra Secessionists who entered the Southern army or Congress and did every thing he could to break up the Union, provided he had held no office before the war. I do not think any object of public duty made it expedient or wise, that prominent Quakers, like yourself and Jonathan Harris, should have participated in such a meeting. I am a devoted friend of Quakerism and hope your action may not prove prejudicial to your Society.

The resolution calling for protection to Union men in this State is a covert imputation upon the judicial and other authorities of this State, wholly unwarranted by their action.

[P. S.] As to the fairness with which I have acted in the case of petitions referred to me, I defy the attacks (if made openly) of malevolence itself.

The 400 petition has not been referred to me. It was sent to Hedrick who sent me a copy of it. I sent a copy to Mr. Wilson. I will direct a copy of his answer sent to you.

NEW GARDEN.

W. H. Bagley to J. P. Foster.

RALEIGH, *Sept. 1st 1866.*

Regarding a Federal appointment.

Your letter to the Governor of the 30th ult. has been received. The Governor is now absent, but will return in a day or so, when he will answer you. You are mistaken when you suppose Gov. W. has any prejudices against you, either personal or political. In his recommendations for Federal offices in this State, he has always acted upon requests from the head of the Department in which the appointment was to be made, and, always, endeavors to carry out the wishes of those among whom the duties of the office are to be exercised. He has been, in your case, urged to recommend Mr. Savage, a native of Wilmington, and he understood him to be the choice of the Wilmington merchants, and *as such* requested his appointment. *I am sure,* the Governor has had no feeling in the whole matter.

To Joseph R. Jones.

RALEIGH, *September 4th 1866.*

Yours postmarked Sep. 4th is just recd.

Defending himself against slander.

Whoever professes that I have appropriated public money to my personal use and rests such pretext upon a mass of reports is both a knave and a fool. I defy the most malevolent of my enemies to the most scrutinising investigation of all accounts and reports. I believe the charge to be equally false as to Gov. Vance. There is no colorable ground for the imputation against either of us.

I have heard that a member from your County offered in the Convention or in the Genl Assembly a resolution and that a com. of inquiry was appointed and that it rested its resolution upon one of my reports in which in summing up the State's indebtedness I included $4,500,000. of State bonds "delivered to the Govr. to be sent to Europe to be used if necessary, as collateral security for the payment of our cotton bonds, which were sent to England but not used, as I learn from the Govr, the cotton bonds having been readily sold without this security".

These bonds were delivered to the Govr. by an act of Assembly. When they went from the Treasury they were charged up as a usual State debt: but as I was informed by the Govr. that they had not been used, but were in England to be brought back when the war ended and restored to the Treasury it was proper that my report should show that upon this state of facts, the State indebtedness was less by $4,500,000. than it purported to be. Stupidity could only base a charge of fraud against me on this transaction. Nor would any honest man consider it as raising a suspicion of fraud against the Govr. These bonds having been repudiated by ordinance of the Convention, the Genl Assembly did not deem it expedient to incur the expense of having them brought back. If the vigilant member suspected that the Governor had sold them: (if he had any sense, he could not suspect me) his course should have been to pass a resolution to have the Treasurer cause them to be brought back. This would have resulted in showing whether there was any foundation for his suspicion. I have not, and never had any suspicion that Gov Vance was capable of the baseness which this suspicion implies. His poverty ought to exculpate him, even with his bitterest enemies.

Hearing that a resolution had been offered and referred, which they never intended as an imputation upon my integrity, I sought for the Chairman, who had voted for

Holden and not for me, and desired to have notice when the committee should act. I never heard any thing further from it; and the imputation was so ridicuously absurd that it had passed from my recollection till I got your letter. I do not remember the name of the mover of this resolution. I suppose he was a malevolent radical who thought he had laid some sort of foundation for the indulgence of an unworthy attack on me.—or was such a fool that he could not understand my report.

As to my past and present views in relation to National affairs, I supposed they were well known.—I never believed in the doctrine of secession and strenuously opposed every thing tending to bring on the rebellion, until war was fully inaugurated. Even then I refused to be a member of the Convention of 1861—but when it was narrowed down to take sides for or against my native State, I took sides with the South and acted with good faith with the South to the end of the conflict—but I believed that we were too weak to maintain the contest, and while we had a formidable army in the field, I was for making peace on the basis of re-union—I did not favor the silly cry of peace and Independence.

When the war was ended I was for mutual forgiveness at home and abroad and mollifying the passions,—restoring the Union and going to work to rebuild our shattered fortunes.

I abhor the Disunionists of the North who tax us but refuse to receive our members into Congress.

I fervently sustain the policy of the Prest. and the late Phila. Convention and have no sympathy with any Southern man, (if there be any) in the Fred. Douglass Convention supposed to be now sitting.

This is a hasty sketch of my position. It is not intended as confidential but I would not be willing to be annoyed, in the midst of official duties, as heavy as I can bear, with a news-paper controversy. You may use it in any way you please, except through the Press. It is

written currente calamo without the care required in a paper intended for publication.

I have no copies of my reports—Shall be pleased to answer any future letter you may address to me.

WILLIAMSBOROUGH.

To John A. Gilmer.

RALEIGH *Sep. 4, 1866.*

What is the matter with Nereus Mendenhall? That he should participate in a meeting opposing the beneficent policy of the Prest and the Phila. Convention and favoring the vindicative and Disunion schemes of the ultra Radicals annoys me—and the fact that he is one of my appointees to office, occasions unpleasant commentary.

I fancy that he has become such a recluse that he is ignorant of passing events. Can't you see him and post him? Is it possible that he and Jonathan Harris are fair exponents of the present sentiments of the Quakers?

GREENSBORO.

To James P. Foster.

RALEIGH *Sep. 4/66.*

Regarding a Federal appointment.

My action in relation to the recommendation for a Collector for the Port of Wilmington has not been influenced by any prejudice against you personally. I emphatically recommended Mr. Savage and opposed the oppointment of any other because my information led me to believe that the shippers of Wilmington were about unanimous in favor of Mr. Savage. I have been governed exclusively by a desire to act in conformity with the wishes of those whose interest were involved and whose preferences, I thought, ought to control the nomination. I have no un-

friendly feeling to you, nor has any body sought to prejudice you in my estimation. I have looked solely to the wishes of the shippers.

WILMINGTON.

To Marshall Parks.

RALEIGH *Sep. 4th 1866.*

Accepting an invitation.

Owing to temporary absence from the city yours of the 30th Aug. has not been sooner acknowledged.

Dr. Ramsey, of Rowan, and P. H. Winston of Bertie, the members of my Board of Internal Improvement, whom I would especially wish to have with me on the trip you so politely invite us to take on your Canal, live off any line of R. R. and the proposed time for the excursion is too near at hand to enable me to communicate with them—Besides Mr. Winston, I suppose, will be in attendance on Wilmington Court at the time suggested.

It would give me great personal pleasure to make the trip while I should be acquiring information useful to me in the discharge of my executive duties.

If convenient to you I would like to make the excursion say any day you may designate in the week commencing the 18th of Oct.—giving me timely notice so I can summon Dr. R. and Mr. W. to accompany.

Thanking you for your polite invitation—I am—very respectfully—

NORFOLK, VA.

To J. J. Crawford.

RALEIGH *Sept. 5 1866.*

Yours of the 23rd ult. reached me yesterday.

Declining to give certain instructions to State agent.

I have examined the acts passed at the session of 1866, amending former legislation in relation to the Macon

County Turnpike Company and the Tuckaseege and Keowee Turnpike Company, to which you call my attention. You ask me to instruct the agent of the State for the collection of the Cherokee bonds to withhold any further subscription to either road until after the meeting of the next Legislature. This is requested on account of some misunderstanding as to the construction of these acts. You do not indicate what is the difficulty as to the construction. I do not find in either act any authority conferred on me to control the agent nor do I know of any other law authorising me to exercise such power. This responsibility must rest with the agent. As you do not present the point of difficulty, I can only suggest, in general terms, that if the agent is in doubt as to his duty, he had probably better do nothing until the Genl Assembly shall more clearly define its will. I think I have no right to interfere,—and consequently that my instructions would give no protection to the agent.

I inclose to you as requested a copy of my dispatch to the President and his answer in relation to the proviso of the 9th Sec. of the act in relation to free negroes.

You will have learned before this reaches you that measures are on foot by the small band of Radicals in this State to bring out opposition to me. The movers favor the plans of the Radical Congress and oppose the views of the President. I suppose they calculate that the Radicals will prevail and desire to put themselves in condition to claim the benefit of the dispensation reserved to two-thirds of Congress, if the Howard amendment prevails. I think they have no idea of electing their man, should they find any one willing to accept their nomination. It is commonly reported that they will nominate Genl Logan, of Rutherford and to mix up some white basis issue. I thought the basis agreed on by the late Convention a fair compromise and voted for the ratification of the proposed amendments.

You say my prospects in Macon are all my friends could desire. They seem to be equally so throughout the State. I have no reason to fear the opposition of the Radicals but regret the ill blood which may spring from such an opposition. It is amazing to me that men professing to be Union men, should favor a Congress which has thus opposed re-union—who claim and exercise the power to tax us, without allowing us representation.

FRANKLIN.

To D. G. Worth.

RALEIGH, *Sep. 5/66.*

Has the matter as to Collector of your port been finally settled? I am ready to do any thing I can to carry out the wishes of your shippers. I am in receipt of a letter from Foster, asking to remove prejudice which he supposes Fuller has produced in my mind against him. I have assured [him] that the wishes of the shippers have shaped and will shape my conduct in this matter. I have no personal feeling about it.

We are in continual lest this hot weather and the pressure of your business may prostrate you again.

WILMINGTON.

From P. H. Winston.

WINDSOR *5 Sep. 1866.*

I recd. a week or two ago a letter from you and would Politics.
have replied at once but for sickness.

I see that the turn now is to raise the cry of the white basis and run Logan or Henry against you. Should this be in reality attempted you must devote some time to the West. Your vote for the new Constitution should be made known every where up there. I do not apprehend

anything serious to grow out of this matter. Those who side with Congress on the Howard amendment will be so thoroughly the father of it that it must end in lamentable failure.

The days roll around. The election approaches. Your prominent friends should *now* preoccupy the whole ground. Gov. Graham, Phillips and Turner, Charley Clark, W. A. Wright, and all such men all over the State should be quietly but firmly planting your name in the minds of the people.

I have not the slightest fear of the result. Pool and Thompson still stick to their promise to vote for you. I have not a word from any one down this way wanting opposition.

Our friend Doct Hogg was a little chafed at not being made a director. My voice will be for transferring Strange to the Wilmington Road and putting Hogg in his place.

Doct. Joyner of Halifax tried very hard to get Matt Ransom to run against you, so Ransom told me.

I shall see a great many people down here from now on until the election and will of course have them up and get them to turn out.

I wish that Gilmer or Nat Boyden were looked to as Senator in Pool's place. Either one of them can beat Pool two to one. I understand that Pool is denouncing the Phila. convention as an assemblage of secessionists. I think I will write to Gilmer.

I had some idea of writing to Genl. Dockery calling on him to support you. I am however a little afraid of him.

I hope that you will now continually bring to bear your influence with all your friends. Judge Merrimon whom I met last week at Martin County thinks you will get a good vote in the West. The great thing is if we get pushed to have a thorough full and united effort simultaneously made all over the State. If another Con-

vention is wanted by the West do not get in the way. Keep uncommitted generally. As for Logan or Henry you can beat either out of sight unless you make some blunder, which I am sure you will not do.

I have not deemed it prudent in Bertie to make too much noise. Holden got 377 Worth 77 here. Next time I think you will beat any man to come against you 100 to 200 votes. Indeed I hope to get you nearly all the votes in the County. In Northampton you will get nearly all. In Martin ditto, Washington ditto. Indeed in all the Country you will run well.

I shall be glad to hear from you.

To James S. Pledge.

RALEIGH, *Sept. 5th 1866.*

Financial matters.

Yours of the 1 inst. asking me that I "had instructed the legislature at the coming session respecting the financial condition of the country".

You say many people in your section are in favor of general repudiation of all debts contracted previous to May 1865, both public and private", and that many of you would like to know my views on the subject.

I am persuaded, on reflection, you will perceive the first question is one which is very broad in its character, and I suppose the latter portion of your letter in relation to repudiation is the subject as to which you desire to have my views.

The Constitution of the United States, which every public officer takes an oath to support, forbids a State to pass any law impairing the obligation of a contract. If the Genl Assembly were to pass a law releasing all persons from the performance of contracts made prior to May 1865, the Judiciary would pronounce such law unconstitutional and void. I admit the extreme hardship

arising from the repudiating of the debts contracted by the State during the war, resulting in the failure of the Banks, and loss to the honest citizens who held the orders of the Banks, the loss of the Common School Fund, etc.—Many who were no way responsible for the war, were thus made bankrupt—and the failure of one often resulted in the failure of many others.—I feel most profoundly for those, who without any fault of their own, have lost the means of fulfilling their contracts,— and am desirous of doing all I can for their relief, consistent with my oath of office and the rules of justice and honesty—but supposing this insuperable Constitutional difficulty were not in the way, could any honest man who had bought land or a horse or any other property of his neighbor, hold the property and not pay the debt?

The debt this State owes was contracted mainly in building her rail roads. A considerable part of it is due to Orphans, whose funds were invested in State bonds by a law passed before the war authorising guardians and other trustees to invest in these bonds and pledging the honor of the State for their payment. Can the State with honor turn off these orphans penniless? Can she hold the roads and refuse to pay the debt contracted to build them? It is contended by many that as the Northern people, who hold most of these bonds, by forcing us to free our negroes, burning our property, etc., have impoverished us, and that we are therefore justified in refusing to pay them. Even if this logic were just, that one wrong justifies another, I do not perceive the policy of knocking at the National door and asking to be admitted as members of the family, but at the same time telling them we don't intend to pay them what we owe them.

Other pressing duties deny me the opportunity of going further into this subject at this time. I do not regard Repudiation as a good remedy for our calamities. I am opposed to it in every form.

People should not rely too much on Legislation to relieve them. Most of creditors ought to and will indulge a debtor honestly struggling to pay.—Where the debts are too large for the debtor to hope to pay or the creditor rigorous he can generally agree on a compound with the creditors and where a creditor is a Shylock, the debtor can cause him to come to terms by making a deed in trust, excluding him, if he will make no reasonable arrangement. The arrangement must depend on each particular case.

I have no specific plan fully digested for supplying a currency but shall anxiously endeavor to do whatever may Constitutionally be done to aid our distressed debtors.

Leaksville.

To A. M. Tomlinson.

Raleigh *Sept. 6 1866.*

Regarding action of Quakers in North Carolina.

The relations between you and me are such that I think I may address you confidentially without any apprehension of misconstruction.

The great question which now absorbs all others is how is real fraternal Union to be restored? All profess to have this in view. Two plans are presented—the one known as the President's plan and the other as the Congressional plan.—I adopt the former, because it looks to forgiveness and good will towards those who rebelled and to genuine reconciliation—the other looks to punishing all who have fallen into this error. The latter plan must keep up animosity and hatred and is a Union looking, not to the affections of the people, but to the sword, to sustain it. Between these plans it had never occurred to me that any Quaker could hesitate, until I saw the names of my friends Nereus Mendenhall and Jonathan Harris recorded in a meeting called to send delegates to Phila. to sustain the Congressional plan,—and Jonathan Harris selected as a delegate to said Convention. I know

the unity which distinguishes the Quakers and fear these two friends reflect the will of their fellow members. My whole life exhibits my partiality for the Quakers—Through evil and good report I have always stood by them and have never, I believe, differed from them politically. If they are now in favor of a Congress, which, as I think, is as sectional and averse to genuine Union, as was any Southern Convention which broke up the Union or attempted to break it up—and which, as I think; indulges and encourages sectional malevolence, then we cannot harmonise in this instance—But assuming that we disagree, it seems to me unfortunate that the Quakers should take active part in so exciting a political question —especially on the side which holds that Graham, Gilmer, myself, and others who have always been their friends, are unworthy to be constables in North Carolina.

I have no reason to fear that I shall be triumphantly re-elected—but it would be most painful to me and as I think, unfortunate for the Quakers if they should take sides against me.

It may possibly be unpleasant to you to say anything in reply. I would by no means have you do any thing which might interfere with the quiet which you ought to enjoy—and your silence will not diminish the esteem in which you are held by

Your friend

Bush Hill.

To D. F. Caldwell.

Raleigh *Sept. 6/66.*

Political matters.

Accept my sincere thanks for your letter of yesterday. I concur heartily in all the views you express and am much obliged to you for the facts, all of which are new to me.

I have so continually occupied with business that I am not keeping posted as to the movements of those who are

seeking to get out opposition to me. I have lately received letters from different quarters which have led me to believe that the organization commonly called red strings, is being revived, for the purpose I suppose, of sustaining the Radical Congress.

The leaders of that Congress I regard as straight out Disunionists—indulging and encouraging sectional malevolence. And hence I feel toward them abhorrence I always felt towards those, North & South, who sought to break up the Union. I endorse fully the first Phila. Convention and the president's plan of restoration.—I am for reconciliation at home and abroad and always opposed to Sectionalism. I am amazed and mortified that Jonathan Harris and Nereus Mendenhall should show sympathy for the Radicals: and fear, as you do, that they represent the feelings of the Quakers. I will write to some others of their leaders to find out.

I wish you had given me the conversation to the soldiers to which you refer. I suppose it was not complimentary to me. I am not ultra enough to suit any interest, and not very odious to any of them.—I am not the first choice of any of the heated partizans of the State, but I have no doubt of my re-election by an overwhelming majority. I shall count on Dick's support over a Radical. Am I mistaken in this?

Again thanking you for your letters and soliciting further communications and advice from you—I am

GREENSBORO.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH. *Sept. 6/66.*

The petition of B. L. Billings, Forsythe, forwarded with my recommendation on 5 Jan. last has been overlooked, I presume. If the pardon has been forwarded, it has

been lost in transmitting to him. Please try to get it, and much oblige.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Jesse Wheeler.

RALEIGH *Sept. 7th 1866.*

Political matters.

I wish it were convenient for me to have a personal conference with you. It is represented to me, not by memorial, but by friends of yours that your office is the head quarters of a party in Guilford seeking to bring about opposition to my re-election on the ground that my fidelity to the Union is suspected or that I have become affiliated with the Secessionists. It surpasses my comprehension that *you* should come to any such conclusion. If there be any thing in my recent course at variance with the abhorrence which I have always felt and expressed for Disunionists, North and South, I am ignorant of it. On the question of Union or Disunion I always have agreed and still agree with the President, save that he suffered expulsion from his State and I deemed it my duty to submit and acquiese when almost the whole people of my State took sides against my views.

I can conceive of no Union worth preserving, if kindness and conciliation and mutual forgiveness and oblivion of the past be not the basis. The adoption of the Constitutional amendment which you are represented as favoring which declares that Wm. A. Graham, Jno. A. Gilmer, Dick, D. F. Caldwell, Boyden and myself and others of like views are not worthy to be a constable in this State, while the bitterest Secessionists who held no office before the war, are deemed eligible to any position under the State or the U. S. govt, exhibits malevolence and not conciliation. I regard Stephens, Sumner and their followers as malevolent Disunionists, and the President and his followers as magananimous statesmen and genuine Union men.

I appreciate and acknowledge your personal worth and believe all your actions will be controlled by your convictions of duty, but we are very far from concurring in judgment if you favor the plans of Stephens and Sumner in preference to those of the President. I hope your views have been misunderstood—and if so, that I may receive an answer to this letter which is written in the spirit of personal friendship which has always existed between us.

[P. S.] I am officially furnished, from an authentic source, with a copy of the oath binding together a secret organization in this State, but my information is not yet fully satisfactory as to all the purposes they have in view. While the present judges are in power and I am Governor, Union men and all other men, white or black, have no need to resort to secret organizations under pretence that they cannot receive protection under the laws. I hear it was asserted in a public meeting in Guilford a few days ago that I would not give an impartial hearing to the complaints of Union men. The imputation is a *lie* and has not color of truth in it.

GREENSBORO.

From William T. Dortch.[1]

GOLDSBORO *Sept. 8th '66.*

I have the pleasure to inform you that I have received my pardon, and tender you my sincere thanks for the interest you have taken in my behalf. I suppose you are destined to have radical opposition. I hope the contest

[1] William T. Dortch, of Wayne, was one of the most prominent lawyers in the State. He was a Democrat and had been a member of the legislature from 1852 to 1856, and from 1858 to 1861; in the latter term he was Speaker of the House. In 1861 he became a member of the Confederate Senate.

may not be mixed up with State issues, so that your opposition may share the strength of the radical party in N. Ca.

To John A. Gilmer.

Confidential.

RALEIGH, *Sept. 8th 1866.*

Endorsing Caldwell.

D. F. Caldwell is as firmly opposed to the Radicals as you or I. Owing to his being for Holden in 1864, he has become obnoxious to many who are acting with us. He is sore under the epithets they apply to him. He will be a most useful auxiliary to you in Guilford in fighting the Radicals. I suggest to you to have the boys treat him courteously. I regard him as an ardent, honest, eccentric man—and exerting much influence among those of radical proclivities.

I have not the slightest fear that the Radicals can show much head in the State, but let us use all legitimate means to defeat their disgracing us. In Randolph and Guilford I think their members are not despicable. I think Caldwell can, and will do much to weaken them, if you and a few others will manage the matter as you can. He thinks he is abused and reviled by his old Whig friends.

I fear Jesse Wheeler is using his influence in favor of the Radicals. I would hope not, if possible. If it be true, as I fear it is, that his office is the head quarters of these sneaks, would it not be well to find some anti-radical Quaker, (I think Sewell Farlow would do) and have him appointed in place of Wheeler?

GREENSBORO.

To Nereus Mendenhall.

RALEIGH, *Sept. 10th 1866.*

Discussion of Tourgee's speech at Philadelphia.

I see in the New York *Herald* this morning a speech purporting to be made in the Southern Radical Conven-

tion by one Capt. A. W. Tourgee, who is stated to be a delegate from North Carolina, who I hear held his commission from the meeting in which you participated. This speech *I believe* to be a tissue of lies from beginning to end and one of his statements *I know* is a lie. He says "seven hundred loyal men had petitioned Prest. Johnson for redress from the rebel depredations, and this petition was referred back to the disloyal Govr. of that State and came back to the authorities of their own town." This statement is a lie. He says in a further statement that he had recently been informed by a Quaker, that he, (the Quaker) had seen fifteen murdered negroes dragged out of one pond. He ought to be called upon to give the name of his informant, and the whereabouts of the pond.

Only two petitions have been referred to me by the President. One was signed by some 40 petitioners from Camden County. They owned that they had served in the U. S. army and were persecuted by numerous indictments in Camden Court for acts done by them as soldiers and they asked for protection. I sent a copy of the petition to D. D. Ferebee delegate in the Convention from Camden, and to Geo. W. Brooks, district judge of the U. S. Court, both residing near the petitioners and requested them to inquire into the facts and report to me. They severally reported to me that there were but two indictments against any of the petitioners—the one for retailing liquor without a license—the other for fornication and adultery.—

The other petition referred to me was one Ledford and others, charging that he had been imprisoned and fined $100. by Judge Merrimon: that he had been a U. S. soldier and that his conviction and punishment were the result of prejudice against him on account of services as a soldier of the U. S. I secured the certificate of the judge and of the lawyer who defended the petitioner, (who was a Union lawyer) showing that his offence was shooting twice with a naval pistol at the head of an inoffensive and unoffending man, who had in no wise given occasion to

this attempt to kill him, save having been in company with a man who had quarreled with the petitioner.—

Such is the lying villian and purporting to represent 2000 North Carolinians in a pretended patriotic convention. I grieve that he should have been appointed by a respectable set of men in Deep River Meeting House.

[P. S.]—In the briefer detail of Tourgee's speech given in the *Tribune* he is represented as the advocate of negro suffrage and boastfully claims to be the representative of 2000 Union men in N. C.—

New Garden.

To the Editor of the Greensboro Patriot.

Raleigh, *Sept. 10/66.*

Discussion of Tourgee's speech in Philadelphia.

My attention is called to Tourgee's speech in the Phila. Radical Convention as reported in the *Herald* of the 8th advocating negro suffrage and boasting that he represents 2000 Union men in N. C. He says "seven hundred Union men had petitioned Prest. Johnson for redress from rebel depredations, and the petition was referred back to the disloyal Govr. of that State and came back to the authorities of their own town." This is a lie so far as it is intended to apply to me. The only petitions referred to me by the Prest. were one from Camden—the other from one Ledford and others in the Western judicial Circuit, Clay County—There were 46 names on the Camden petition, who set forth that they had been U. S. soldiers that on their return home they were wickedly persecuted by the Courts, being indicted for every petty and trivial offence and act done as soldiers of the U. S., and I requested D. D. Ferebee, of Camden, and Geo. W. Brooks, of Pasquotank, who is district judge of the United States, to investigate and report to me. They severally reported that only two of the petitioners were indicted for any offence—one for retailing without a license and the other

for fornication and adultery. I will inclose you a copy of the petition as a specimen of pathetic eloquence in behalf of persecuted Union men.—

Ledford's petition endorsed by many others, represented that he too had been a U. S. soldier, and that owing to the prejudice growing out of this fact, he had been indicted, convicted and cruelly punished by Judge Merrimon, to-wit—fined $100. He avers that he was defended by a Union lawyer who told his client if he didn't charge $50. for his fee the judge said the fine would be $200. etc. I referred this petition to judge Merrimon, asking him to report the facts. His report stated that the offence of which Ledford was convicted was shooting a naval pistol twice at the head of an unoffending man, who saved his life only by dodging and who had offered no insult or offence to the defendant. I submitted Judge Merrimon's statements to Genl Henry, of Macon, whom I ascertained was the lawyer who defended Ledford, requesting a statement of the facts.—His certificate without sustaining directly or denying the facts as stated by judge Merrimon, declares that a fair scrutiny into the conduct of the judge, would, in his opinion, sustain him as an "impartial officer."

These are the two petitions referred to me by the Prest.

Tourgee's speech, as reported in the *Tribune,* is substantially the same.

The drift and object is that a Union man is not safe under the present civil authorities of the State: that he had very recently been informed by a Quaker that 15 murdered negroes had been drawn out of a pond, or as reported in the *Tribune,* out of a River in S. C.:—that 1200 U. S. soldiers who had settled in this State had been forced to sacrifice their property and leave the State because neither their lives or their property was safe in this State. If any one Union soldier, who has behaved himself with civility, has been inhospitably treated and compelled to leave the State, it has not come to my knowledge. I think the sentence contains 1200 lies.—I think you

should demand of him the names of a few of the 1200—and the name of the Quaker who informed him about the drowned negroes and the location of the Pond or River where they were drowned.—As Tourgee claims to be the representative of 2000 Union men in N. C and to be their mouth-piece and represents the civil authorities of the State as corrupt monsters countenancing the denial of justice to Union men and as the representative of 2000 Union men in this State, demands the right of suffrage to the negroes and if practicable the disfranchisement of nearly the whole of the white population, and as he hails from Guilford and has spread this speech throughout the Nation to make the North hate us, you ought to call a mass meeting of the County and invite him and his followers to be present to vindicate his facts.—This speech will do much to prejudice N. C. and the Prest., if not counter-acted by some efficient means.

I throw out these hastily written suggestions for your consideration.—Nereus Mendenhall, Jonathan Harris and other Quakers ought to attend and disabuse themselves and the Quakers from endorsing his iniquitous lies. All other respectable men who participated in sending him to Phila. as ther representative, ought to denounce him.

While I would avoid no responsibility as to the facts and views herein stated I would deem it unbecoming the dignity of my station to be brought into personal controversy with this vile wretch Tourgee. In relation to the matter about petitions you may say you are authorised to say the facts are as herein stated. As to the petition referred to me by the Prest., malice itself cannot pretend that I have not acted fairly towards them and sought to extend them and all others, whatever their politics or color, the full protection of the laws—and if there be a single instance in the State where a judge or solicitor has not discharged his duty as became an honest, impartial and capable officer, I have not heard of it.

To John A. Gilmer.

RALEIGH *Sep. 11/66.*

After writing the above I conclude it is inexpedient to risk the possibility of being drawn into a controversy with this contemptible Tourgee—I am persuaded the facts furnish material for a suitable article for the *Patriot.*—I commit it to your discretion. I am concerned lest the Quakers have made this Tourgee their leader.

To Joseph D. Simmons.

RALEIGH, *Sep. 12 1866.*

Relating to labor contracts.

Your letter of the 10th inst. is received in which you complain that certain negroes with whom you had entered into a contract last January for the cultivation of your farm have not fulfilled their part of the contract.

On the 13th July last Genl Robinson issued an order whereby all matters of controversy between white men and Freedmen are turned over to the civil Courts, excepting "claims for wages, approved or issued by officers of the Freedman's Bureau."

Whether your contract with these negroes was witnessed or approved by an officer of said Bureau, does not appear, but even assuming that it was so witnessed or approved, it does not appear to have been a contract for *wages,*—and is consequently a contract falling within the jurisdiction of the civil Courts.

If your contract was not witnessed or approved by an officer of the Freedman's Bureau, Col. Weigel had no jurisdiction over it, at the time he interposed, which interference, as I understand your letter, was after the 23rd July. You do not give the date of his interference.

It follows that you stand where you would have stood in times before the war. It is a matter of controversy as

to a contract, and must be settled, as of old, by the Courts —if you cannot settle it by mutual arrangement or arbitration.

I believe Genl Robinson will carry out his order aforesaid in good faith—and will not sustain his subordinates in any action at variance with it. Your question, therefore, is a purely legal one.

I deem it of public importance that our people and the civil authorities shall not only act justly to the negroes, which I do not doubt you have done, but that there shall be no colorable ground to impute a want of regard to the rights of the negro under his new relations to us: and I therefore highly approve of your generous suggestion to consent to an adjustment of this controversy by arbitration, if the negroes will assent to it.

As to your apprehensions from the threats of one of these negroes, there is no legal remedy save by peace warrant.

I do not refer this special case to Genl Robinson, because his general orders fully cover it, and he would probably deem the reference uncalled for.

With this general explanation and the advice of a judicious lawyer, I hope you may be relieved from any further serious annoyance.

TARBORO.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH *Sept. 12 1866.*

Politics in North Carolina.

I thank you for your prompt attention to the correction of Atkinson's pardon.

I would have preferred [*page torn for rest of line*] had not assailed A. H. Jones, prior to his participation in the late Phila. Convention, and even as to this I know nothing as to the part he took. If he approved, as I fear he did, the resolutions and address adopted at the conclusion,

which urges, for the reason there assigned, negro suffrage and the adoption by this State of the Howard amendment to the Constitution and the spirit of the proceedings of that body, evidently showing that party ascendency and the nature of the political hatred, and not a complete restoration of the Union on the basis of mutual confidence and kindness between the sections, thus then he can have no sympathy or respect from me. I had been disposed to regard him as a man of good intentions. If he concurred in the action or spirit of that Convention my views of him will be totally altered.

Mr. Pell has repeatedly declared in his paper, that I am to be held responsible for nothing appearing in the *Sentinel,* not appearing over my name or declared to be published by my authority. He is personally and politically my friend, and I generally approve his articles excepting what seems to me to be injurious asperity to the Red Strings (among whom there are many good men) and undue commendation of the leaders in the Rebellion. They are now subdued,—in a small minority and likely to remain in the minority if not persecuted into popularity. Most of them—all of them so far as I know, desire to submit to and obey the laws. No reasonable man could expect that recent hatred to their late foeman should be converted into love as the result of being conquered. Only the basest and least desirable of them pretend to such love. But enough of this. I am now as I always have been ardently for the Union, and I believe there were never any measures proposed in this country better calculated to keep up sectional hate and Disunion than those advocated by the Radicals, North and South.

The Holdenites in Newbern headed by W. R. Thomas and E. R. Stanley lately got up a meeting and directed their chmn. Thomas to appoint delegates to meet others here on the 20th inst to bring out some "unmistakably loyal man" as a Candidate for Govr. Holden has had circulars printed and sent out over the State to get his friends here

and bring out opposition to me.—It will either be a total failure—or if they nominate a man who will accept the nomination the nominee will not receive a respectable support. A number of the persons nominated by Thomas, as delegates, among them the mayor of the town, are out in cards declining to serve and expressing their disapprobation of the object. Public opinion is so settled down that no body opposing me under the auspices of Holden or his followers can stand the slightest chance of success.

Washington, D. C.

To A. M. Tomlinson.

Raleigh, *Sep. 13 1866.*

Condemnation of the newspapers.

Your letter of the 10th inst, is received and is truly refreshing to me. From the bottom of my heart I join in every sentiment in it. I abominate the journalism of the times. I am responsible for nothing save what appears over my own signature, I have no organ—never have pretended to have. No paper has pretended to claim to be my organ. The *Sentinel* has repeatedly declared I was not to be held responsible for any thing in his paper not over my signature or declared to be published by my authority. In spite of this *every* issue of the *Standard* speaks of my organ.

The Quakers ought to hold themselves aloof from the bitterness of wicked partisans of all sorts. If any of them think my opponent, if I have any, a better Union man, and better calculated to bring about the quiet which all genuine Quakers desire, they ought to carry out their views at the ballot box—but they will greatly err in joining in political meetings headed by such men as Tourgee. The statement in his published Phila. speech in reference to me is a lie, as I believe all the pretended facts he states intended to make the North hate the South.

Bush Hill.

To Dr. J. G. Ramsey.

RALEIGH *Sep. 13 1866.*

I am invited by the Prest of the A & C. Canal, together with my board of Internal Improvement, to make an excursion over this Canal to Norfolk—and if we desire it to Nag's Head—Would you like to make the trip? We must hold a meeting to appoint Directors for the Wil. & W. R. R. in the latter part of Oct. I propose that you meet me here on Tuesday morning Oct. 23 to go by the next train on the R. & G. R. R. and join Winston at such point as he may designate. If this should not suit you I will appoint a day about that time for Mr. W. to meet us here and appoint Directors. An early answer is desired that I may consult with Mr. W.

I now deem it probable that the Radicals will run Logan against me.

SALISBURY.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *Sep. 16, 66.*

Discussion of political conditions.

I received several days ago yours of the 12th but have had no time to reply. There was but little of the late Phil. Convention that was southern, and in some sense the same may be said of both the Philadelphia Conventions. The fact is the South has got to fill second place all the time, until she has set herself in harmony with the great mass of the people who put down the rebellion. People do not fight a great war through and then forget it next day or next year. So far as the Southern delegates had anything to do with the general management of the Randall Convention, they had just as well telegraph their approval or send it by mail in advance, and so far as nine tenths of the delegates to the Hamilton Convention are

concerned, they might just as well have staid at home. There were a few good honest men, men of ideas and thought for the South in this last Convention, but they were so lured by men who were only thinking of how to carry the Fall elections in the North, that they were not felt. I think spirit manifested by the leading Southern newspapers toward both conventions has had more effect in helping the extreme radicals than anything the radicals could do for themselves. The *Sentinel* managed to swallow the loyal platform and resolutions of the Randall Convention and only put in a mild protest as to what it would do as "full Southern," but the papers in Va. and the rest of the South came right out and denounced the platform as not binding on them. The Hamilton Convention gets more than half its influence from venomous denunciation of Southern editors, Mr. Pell among others. "Yankee" he describes the most opprobrious epithet in the Dictionary, and even the "dead dog of abolition" has to be stirred again. The thinking men of the North will be more influenced to doubt the loyalty of the South by looking at the editorials of the Southern editors on Hamilton and Brownlow Convention, than they will be by the proceedings of the mere handful of men calling themselves *delegates* from the South. In Republican Govt. there must always be two parties. But so far public opinion in the North has not shown what parties there are. Certainly there cannot said to be two parties there, and I judge that there will not be for some time. The conditions of things in the South creates a good deal of apprehension with men at the North who are not politicians. The amount of violence they say is no greater than might be expected under the circumstances. But what astonishes them is that the authorities seem to have no power or disposition to punish the lawless. Quite a number of the most brutal murders have been recently committed in Va. Ky., and Ala. and so far no steps taken by the local authorities to punish the felons. A riot is likely to happen in the best governed

communities, and so of the foulest murders, but no such as this New Orleans affair could occur in the North without some steps being taken to punish the guilty. It looks as if the law abiding people of the South were again seized with the same apathy which possessed them in 1861, when they permitted violent, but lawless mobs to overturn the State Govts of most of the Southern States again the known and expressed wishes of the majority. I think that the domestic condition of N. C. is as good as that of any Southern State. I think it is better. The failure of the crops in some portions of the State will set things back, and drive away population. But for that I think the State would be in a fair way to regain a state of peace and quiet.

I have not seen A. H. Jones since last spring, or rather winter. But I understand that there is a good deal of violence abroad in the mountain counties, and union men are really apprehensive for their lives. I have not sufficient means to know the truth of the matter, but there must be some grounds for the repeated complaints of the union men of that region. Holden is doing all he can to keep up the strife, hoping to make cat-paws of the union men of the West, to pull his chestnuts out of the fire and unfortunately Mr. Pell asserts Holden is keeping up a bad spirit. I am doing what I can to check mate Holden's schemes, but Holden by laying dark so long, nothing can be done with certainty. As soon as I know who Holden's candidate is to be I can tell pretty closely what he can do. Just now he is playing off Gen. Dockery as the man to beat you, but I have no idea who is to be his candidate. I hope that Lewis Hanes will keep up his paper at least till after the election is over. A few good writers in his paper could do much to enlighten public opinion. Mr. Pell should read his own paper of last year and see what was his *platform* then and in what he succeeded.

Since the Maine election, the N. Y. *Herald* has announced in its usual way that the contest in the North is to result in favor of the Republicans. That must be the

case, unless the Republican party divides. My own notion is that the South had better have kept free from entangling alliances with the copper-heads of the North. Many of the Republican politicians are just as big scamps as are to be found, but the sober industrious marrow of the North will never vote for a copperhead. Th South will gain nothing by fighting the battles of defeated Northern demagogues.

The Howard Amendment will be ratified by all the Northern States this winter, New Jersey having taken the lead. If the South will act reasonably the next Congress will act more liberally toward the South than the last did, for there will be quite a number of new men in it, and the approach of the next Presidential election will make all anxious to settle the question of reconstruction on the best prudent terms, and so Andrew Johnson will succeed in his main design of finishing reconstruction during his term of office.

I note that Mr. Pell says in his paper by implication that the Howard Amendment *disfranchises* the mass of the Southern people. Now he must have known that such is not the fact. The two things that the South as a section will oppose is the cutting down of representatives to the voting or white basis, and the disqualification of certain men for office. The latter feature is the only one that looks like *punishment* and which will in no way benefit the North. Of course the South will not like to have the number of its representation diminished, neither will the North. But one or the other has to yield. If the basis is not changed the North will lose ten or twelve members by the freeing of the negroes, and if it is changed the South will lose fifteen or twenty. This is on the supposition that the question of negro suffrage is entirely ignored. As a section this matter of representation is the only one that the North will be strenuous for, and when it comes to the pinch all parties North will go for having as much favor as they can get, and all parties South will

do the same thing. It was for that reason that the Northern men in Congress were not willing to admit even loyal men from the South till they got the basis changed. Selfishness and sectionalism are as a general thing the rule.

To A. V. Sullivan.

RALEIGH *Sep. 17 1866.*

I ordered a bbl of whiskey from my friend N. Williams a few days ago. It has come to hand 36½ gals, cost, to my dismay, $182.50. I am requested to send the money to you to be forwarded. I send enclosed $100.—Will remit bal. as soon as I can get it. I had no idea that it would cost so much. I must dispense with so much expenditure on indulgence until I have an income equal to my expenses. I hope at the end of this quarter—1 Oct. I may be able to pay the balance.

Do those who sent Tourgee to Phila. recognise him as correctly representing their views?

HIGH POINT.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH *Sep. 18/66.*

Relating to Union men in North Carolina.

There is one portion in your letter just received in which I am sure you are mistaken; to-wit that Union men have just cause of complaint as to the administration of justice in the Western part of this State. The larger portion of my time for a month past has been devoted to investigations of this character. In *every* instance which I have investigated it has proved to be a false clamor on the part of bad men. True—honest men do not as a general rule, join in these clamors. They spring from those passions which have led them to commit breaches of the peace.

They come from ultra Union counties, where severity in enforcing the Conscription act naturally engendered bad passions and led to retaliation after the close of hostilities.

I do not believe justice to white and black, rich and poor—to all men was ever more impartially administered immediately after such a convulsion as we have just passed through, than it is in this State. Ever lover of N. C. and of justice, has reason to be proud of our Judiciary.

At my special request the judges dwell in their charges in every County upon the duty of inferior officers and all our people, seeing that justice is impartially done to the negro. Through these charges the popular ear is more efficiently reached than in any other manner. If the truth were known, all good men at the North would respect and honor us—but Tourgee and other like villians, by a continual stream of slander, lead many to think where there is so much smoke there must be some fire.

Washington, D. C.

To William J. Wilson.

Raleigh, *Sep. 18/66.*

Yours of the 4th inst received here today. It had no post-mark. If my answer shall be as slow in reaching you it will be of little value. There is no statute so far as I can remember or find, which confers on the Executive any right to take steps for procuring the right of way for the extension of the W. N. R. R. to a connection with the Tenn. or Ga roads. This power, I presume, the Directors may exercise—and as they all favor the extension of the road as fast as possible there will be no doubt out as soon as they deem it expedient.

I have ever voted in favor of every measure your representatives have recommended, tending to furnish to your delightful country an out-let to market and whatever posi-

tion I may occupy will favor any practical measure to extend the road from Morganton West with as little delay as possible.

I voted and urged others to vote for the ratification of the proposed amendments to our Constitution and regret that the result of the election was for rejection.

I congratulate you on the acquisition of a good wife as do all my family.

I hope you and my friend Keener will be here this fall as representatives of a people you have so faithfully represented heretofore.

I now think I shall have no opposition. The Radicals are trying to get up opposition—but such opposition would be nominal.

Forks of Pigeon, Haywood Co.

From A. V. Sullivan.

High Point, N. C. *Sep. 19th 1866.*

Yours of the 17th inst covering a remittance of One Hundred Dollars received yesterday per Express. Amt. placed to the credit of N. Williams. Will repeat to him your explanation.

I confess Governor I am at a loss in attempting to answer your question as to the views and objects of the *Tourgeeites*. They will assemble in Raleigh tomorrow and will doubtless give expression to their patriotic feelings and objects through the medium of the *Standard*. Politics.

I have been quite busy for some weeks past and have not had an opportunity for mixing with the sovereigns much. In fact the *red string* men of this County are not very communicative with me and I entirely reciprocate their manifestations of indifference.

I can understand how and why it is that an African sympathizes with his race and color and I think I have

some idea of Christian philanthropy which takes in all created human beings.

But this new fangled idea of worshipping the negro, and denouncing and prosecuting native born straight haired citizens, I cannot exactly understand.

I know this, Governor, you course is approved by nine tenths of the honest and intelligent men within the limits of my acquaintance, but the wire working demagogues are against you. They want office, they are for repudiation, and they are for a general distribution of effects.

To make a good government (in my humble judgment— there is two ingredients, which they are sadly in want of, that is *moral honesty and brains.*

I hope you will pardon me for this blunt expression of my humble notions.

To Henry T. Clark.

Raleigh, *Sep. 21/66.*

Yours of the 12th inst. postmarked 21st is received. I will inclose it tomorrow to the Prest, with this endorsement. "I have long known Gov. Clark, and though differing from him on national politics, I have always regard him as 'the noblest work of God,' an honest man. I have no doubt of his loyalty and I earnestly recommend that his pardon be granted."

I regret that heavy pressure of business denies me the opportunity to answer at length your friendly letter.

You will have seen that Holden and a handful of his devoted followers, yesterday nominated Genl Dockery to run as my opponent on Howard amendment platform. I understand H. told his friends that he had positive assurance that the Genl would accept the nomination. It amazed me that any North Carolinian should favor the ratification of that amendment.

I hope this movement will awaken some interest in the election.

I shall call a meeting of my board of Internal Improvement about the 20th of this month. Send me a communication explaining the R. R. mismanagement to which you refer.

I send you by mail a package containing 1000 of my tickets. Please have them distributed to the precincts of your County. I also send you another package for the County of Wilson. Please do me the favor to put them in the hands of some friend who will attend to their distribution.

Tarboro.

To C. C. Clark.

Raleigh *Sep. 21/66.*

The opposition Convention.

I send you by mail a package containing 1000 of my tickets and ask you to have them distributed to the precincts of your County.

The Holden Convention of yesterday, in which it is pretended some 8 counties were represented, was a truly small affair. Holden asked for the Commons Hall for their sitting a day or two before the meeting. We granted the request without hesitation. They did not choose to make a public demonstration of their weakness so assembled in Holden's office and declared that the people of N. C. ought to adopt the Howard amendment and asked Genl A. S. Dockery [*illegible*] whether he wished to be chief executive of the State by standing on that platform. The essential delegation was from Newbern—The next largest I hear from Wake—all of these self-appointed. No public meeting, so far as I have heard, nominated any delegate in this County. I have not heard of a meeting in Carteret and know nothing of the delegates [*illegible*] I have heard of no meeting in Alamance, Davidson or Davie.

I do not believe that Thompson or Dick wrote a letter recommending the adoption of the Howard amendment.

I will be glad to hear from you. The ball against me seems to have been put in motion in Craven but I suppose a candidate on the Howard amendment platform, can receive few votes in Craven. It is amazing to me that any North Carolinian can favor the ratification of this amendment.

New Bern.

To Judge D. F. Caldwell.

Raleigh *Sep. 21 1866.*

Yours of the 20th inst. acknowledging receipt of your pardon has been recd. You explain why you did not sooner acknowledge the receipt of the same and say that you are "reminded of your neglect by Mr. Battle's letter and now fulfill it."

Inclosed I find a $5. bill. This is an enigma to me. I have sent to Kemp Battle and Rich Battle. Neither of them understand it. I suppose the money was intended for some other letter and inclosed in the one to me by mistake. I return it herein.

It is truly hard as you say that you should have to pay the expenses of war you always sought to avert. It is one of the common sequents of Civil War. No one struggled more persistently than I to avert it and I like you have lost much of the earnings of my life.

The opposition Convention.

The meeting yesterday was too small to assume the name of a Convention. Mr. Holden had obtained the consent of the officers of the Capitol that his Convention might sit in the Commons Hall. Their numbers proved to be so small that they did not deem it expedient to sit in Commons Hall, or to assume the name of a Convention. They met in Holden's office and nominated Genl Dockery on the platform of the Howard amendment and sent young Logan to his residence to see whether he would accept. We shall see. —

Holden is out in a long address to the people in furtherence of his object.

SALISBURY.

To C. S. Winstead.[1]

RALEIGH *Sep. 22/66.*

Nomination of Dockery by the opposition.

I send you by mail a package containing 1000 of my tickets for re-election as Govr. You will much oblige me by having them distributed to the several points of your County.

You will have seen that Mr. Holden and a few of his friends have nominated Genl Dockery, on the platform of the adoption by this State of the Howard amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. It is represented by Mr. Holden that he has assurance that Genl D. will accept the nomination and stand on this platform. I am opposed to the adoption of this amendment or any other amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. until we are represented in the proposing Congress. If Genl D. accepts the nomination this will be the main issue.

I am persuaded I shall be sustained by you: but whether I am or not you will oblige me by placing my tickets in the hands of some one who will see them properly distributed.

ROXBORO.

To W. L. Springs.

RALEIGH, *Sep. 22 1866.*

Yours of the 19th inst. is recd.

Destitution in the State.

The failure of both the corn and wheat crop in many of the Western Counties of the State, the almost destitu-

[1] Charles S. Winstead, of Person, had been a Democratic member of the legislature before and during the war; after the war he was a moderate Republican.

tion of many among the masses of our people and even among those who possess large real estate in that grain growing portion of the State, and the heavy taxation for the U. S. Treasury, would make the collection of a sufficient tax to meet the interest on our State debt so burdensome that I think the Genl Assembly will not impose such tax at its next session. It is believed the bond holders in the State so fully appreciate the condition of our people, that they will not expect or insist on the levy of such a tax, as would be necessary to pay the interest on the State, the ordinary expenses of the State and the very heavy tax necessary to defraying the charges of sustaining the poor, etc.

This must not be construed as repudiation. The State will pay if the money can be raised on her credit. For the present the people can't pay by a direct tax, without grievous oppression.

Philadelphia, Pa.

To J. B. Mailer.

Raleigh *Sep. 22, 66.*

Asking distribution of tickets.

I send you by mail a package of 1000 of my tickets for re-election as Govr.

Mr. Holden and a few of his friends have nominated Genl Dockery as my opponent on the platform of the ratification of the Howard amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. I am opposed to the ratification of this or any other amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. until we are represented in the proposing Congress.

Please have my tickets distributed to the several precincts of your County.

Morganton.

To R. Y. McAden.[1]

Sept. 23 1866.

In regard to Tourgee's speech.

Col. Wren and the Radicals of Randolph, Guilford, Chatham and perhaps Alamance, by appointing Tourgee their representative made him their mouth-piece. By their silence since the publication of his speech, they endorse it. I send to Mr. Robins, by his request, in your care a *Tribune* and a *Herald* containing his speech, which I think may be most effectively used in the canvass.

I am still ignorant whether Genl Dockery accepts Holden's nomination. His tickets are being sent out by the *Standard*. They probably rely on their secret organizations to run his name without his personal acceptance.

Graham.

To S. S. Jackson.

Raleigh *Sep. 28 1866.*

It is not yet known here whether Genl Dockery accepts the nomination as my competitor or not. His defeat will be disastrous if he run.

* * * * * * *

Mary says she is better.—The rest well—I learn that Holden is sending out Dockery tickets. The dependence is on secret organizations. There are none of them here. Every body appears to be for me in Wake except Holden and son and Jim Taylor.

Asheboro

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[1] Rufus Y. McAden, of Alamance, had at this time been a member of the legislature since 1862. He was Speaker of the House in 1866. He was later prominent in financial and manufacturing circles.

To D. H. Starbuck.

Raleigh, *Sep. 29 1866.*

Discussion of politics.

The daily pressure of official duty makes it physically impossible for me to do much in the way of political or social correspondence.

On all the great political issues of the Country for the past thirty years, you and I have agreed. Do we disagree on the issue whether N. C. ought to ratify the Howard amendment?

I take this view. Those who take the affirmative side admit the legal organization of the State, otherwise the action of our Legislature would be nugatory.

If the ratification by this State with that of 24 other States would make this proposition a part of the fundamental law of the U. S., then N. C. is one of the States of the American Union.

Article 1 Sec. 2 Constitution of the U. S. declares that "each State shall have at least one representative."

Sec. 3 same article provides that "the Senate of the U. S. shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years."

North Carolina is denied the right of having any representation in either branch of the National Legislature, without inquiry whether those whom she offers as representatives, are constitutionally qualified or not.

While we are thus denied any representation in Congress we are asked to ratify an amendment essentially altering the original compact.

The Constitution clearly contemplated that every State should be represented in a Congress proposing alterations in the original compact.

I desire to obey in good faith all the provisions of the Constitution of the U. S. and as I entertain no doubt of the correctness of these views I am opposed to the ratification of *any* amendment to the Constitution of the U. S., so long as we are denied representation in the Congress proposing such amendment.

These settled views make it unnecessary that I should discuss the merits or dismerits of the proposed amendment.

Upon a single feature I will submit a remark.

I am now, as you know I have always been, in favor of the preservation of the American Union, upon the basis of strict confidence and genuine reconciliation between all parts. I have however, always view with equal disfavor the Northern party who viewed the Constitution of the U. S. as "a league with Hell"—and the Southern Secessionist. I know of no act or word of mine, public or private, not in exact accordance with these views, unless my participation in the State Government during the war should be regarded as at variance with them. Up to the unanimous action of the State Convention in 1861, as a Senator and a citizen, I opposed the call of a Convention,—and appropriation of money to arm the State,—and all other measures looking to Disunion.—When the Convention was ordered, I refused to be elected a member of it. After that Convention had unanimously declared the Union dissolved, and declared the State one of the parties to the Southern Confederacy, and put her in a belligerent attitude to the United States, I was still a Senator under my election in 1860, and the General Assembly was called together in extra session. Driven by force of these events to take sides with one of the belligerents, I had no hesitation to link my destiny with my own section. I took the oath to support the Constitution of the Confederate States and thereafter acted in conformity with the provisions of that oath: but I did not believe that the Northern people felt towards us the destroying malevolence which many of her leading men now avow, and which I still hope is not the dominant feeling of the Northern people; and I deemed it consistent with fidelity to my new engagements to bring about peace on the basis of the Constitution of the United States. I never joined in what I deemed the deceptive and absurd cry, "peace and Independence,"

adopted generally in this State by those who now claim to be the only men in the State worthy of public trust.

This Howard amendment, if adopted, declares me so contaminated that I am unworthy to be elected to any office in the State—even that of a Constable.—I refer to my case as an illustration of many thousands of others in this State.

Every citizen of the United States owed allegiance to the U. S. Those who violated that allegiance are about equally guilty, whether they had ever taken the oath of allegiance or not:—and when the United States could not protect its citizens surely they ought to be excused for obeying the laws of the *de facto* government which protected them, and which they were impotent to resist. The Confederate Government ruled over us. We have divine authority for obying our rulers. Common sense ought to regard, at least with mercy, submission to physical power which we were unable to resist. This amendment recognizes as eligible to office those who took up arms voluntarily to resist the United States or sought a seat in the Convention to dissolve the Union or who in any form aided to destroy the Union, provided such person had not, as an officer, taken an oath to support the Constitution of the U. S.

I do not think this feature of the amendment calculated to produce general reconciliation.

I have not the time at present to comment on the other provisions of the amendment, of much graver import than the disqualifying provision.

I deem an amendment containing so many provisions, essentially altering the Constitution, and to be ratified or rejected as a *whole*, and proposed in a Congress in which several states were excluded from representation, is not deserving of ratification by any State in the Union.

It is not known here whether Genl Dockery accepts the nomination as my competitor for Govr. or not,—and I am ignorant whether he favors the ratification of the Howard

amendment or not. [*Next few lines cannot be read.*]

Mr. Holden and Mr. Thomas and the few others who nominated Genl Dockery, are unmistakable Union men; while they profess to deplore my defaction from the support of the Union, urge the adoption of this amendment, not because they profess to approve the provisions, but on the ground that it is offered to us as a condition precedent to allowing us representation in Congress, and that the choice is left us only to accept this or submit to worse terms. I know of no radical grounds on which they make this representation. The last Congress made no such declaration—If it had, what security have we that the next Congress would feel bound by it? President Johnson made known to us, early last summer, that if we would ratify an amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. which had been proposed while we were voluntarily excluded from representation in Congress, abolishing slavery –if we would amend our constitution so as to abolish slavery—declare Secession a political heresy and repudiate our State debt, he would deem us entitled to representation in Congress. The whole North seemed to acquiese in this plan. Scarcely a murmur was heard against it. We hastened to comply with all the conditions and elected men to represent us in Congress, not one of whom had ever advocated the doctrine of Secession, and whom we believed under any constitutional teste, entitled to take a seat. On the meeting of Congress, to our amazement we found other undefined conditions were to be imposed. Our representatives were rejected without inquiry as to their eligibility. Under these circumstances what rational ground of hope have we that if we adopt the Howard amendment, it will not be followed by the requirement of universal negro suffrage, general confiscation, the impeachment of President Johnson and other measures of degradation.

The little squad who assembled here on the 20th inst under a call for a great State and mass union meeting

had leave from me granted on the application of Gov. Holden's son, a day or two in advance of the assemblage, to hold the meeting in the Hall of the House of Commons. I know not why they declined to avail themselves of the privilege, unless the paucity of the numbers—not enough to fill three benches. [*Rest of page cannot be read.*] They forgot that he and his chief associate Mr. C. R. Thomas, as members of the Convention of 1861, had voted the State out of the Union. It did not suit them to look into antecedents. They proposed to make a distinguished gentleman their standard bearer. He and I were Senators in the General Assembly of 1860-61. In Decr. 1860, *before* the ordinance of Secession, it was proposed to place in the hands of Gov. Ellis, an ardent secessionist, $300,000. to arm the State. Genl. Dockery voted for this bill and I voted against it. On the final reading of the bill, in May, 1861, calling a convention, he voted for it, and I voted against it. I do not refer to these votes to call in question the patriotism of any body. Many worthy men differed from me. I refer to them only to show why these gentlemen wished to ignore the good old rule of judging men by their antecedents.

I expected, when I commenced this letter, that it would be a short one. It had turned out to be rather a long one, in which I have indulged in free expression of my views, *currente calamo,* without any mental reservation. You may use it as you please, save through the press.

Shall be glad to hear from you in reply.

[P. S.]—Since the nomination of Genl. Dockery, I perceive the *Standard* is advocating that representation in this State should rest on the *white* basis. I infer from this that Govr. Holden would make a side issue—a bid for the vote of the populous West. I voted for the ratification of the amendments lately proposed to our State Constitution. Whether Genl. Dockery voted for it or not, I do not know. I understood it to be acceptable to the

West. I deemed the amendments wise ones and voted for the ratification of them. As a legislator I have considered the *whole* State interested in developing the resources of the West and none of the representatives of the West have voted more steadily for measures of Western improvement, than I have.

Salem.

From D. F. Caldwell.

Greensboro N. C. *Sept. 30 66.*

Conditions in State politics.

I wish to call your attention to a matter which I think deserves some attention. I allude to the methods and notices as also the purposes for which many foreign and native born scamps liars and villains are organising the people into what they are pleased to call the National Union Republican Party. These unprincipled creatures are organizing these oath bound secret political leagues or clubs in every neighborhood. If I am informed correctly the method used to frighten the people into joining these clubs, is something after this fasions. First it matters not what a man's anticeadents are if he is against the Howard amendment and congress he is disloyal and not to be believed or trusted in any particular. 2. All disloyalty and disloyal men no matter who they are or what they have been are to be crushed out and put under the foot of the Republican Party if it takes a thousand years to do it. It is useless to talk of trying each one under the Constitution, in open court and by the laws of the land and a jury, where they will have an opportunity to confront their accusers and have counsel and evidence. This mode of proceeding might do for a given number, but the country is too full of trators to dignify or tamper with treason in this wáy it must be rendered so odious throughout the length and bredth of the land that it will *smell to Heaven.* The N. R. Union Party intend to deal with

the traitors of the South as the people of California did with the gamblers and pick pockets of Sanfrisco and elsewhere—in that state. That is to make the party Judges and Jury both and dispose of them in the most just and summary manner, Andy Johnson not excepted. They have already as a party passed a law prohibiting the appointment of any more judges to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States until the number shall have reduced by death, resignation or *impeachment to six.* This law will keep a majority silent, etc. or like Old Judge Chase they will with the President be impeached. This much is secured. The next is to secure the passage of the Howard Amendment to the constitution. This done it virtually attaints four-fifths of the people of the Southern States and put them and their property and all their liberty and privileges of Congress to dispose of *them and their property as they may* please by a party vote of Congress that will be organized by the party and elected and sit as the great National Republican Union Vigilance to try and condemn the miserable traitors in the most just and summary manner. And the members of the party that belong to the wide awake Clubs, Red String and other similar secret societies of the party will have it in their power through these officers to keep Congress thoroughly advised and posted as to the political state of all their neighbors. In other words they will have power to kill to *"Kill and Make Alive"* And woe be to the man or party that shall be fool hardy enough to oppose them. The heavens may weep the thunders roll the earth rock and the mountains tremble and quake—but the leaders of the Union Republican Party will not hesitate give back or flinch in the slightest degree they have laid down their program and they intend and will carry it out to the letter if the South will not come up at once and chearfully ratify the Howard Amendment and place themselves under the feet of the Union Party they will find that they

will fare much worse hereafter than they will, if they were to crouch down at their feet and at once make a full and hearty surrender of themselves and all they have to be disposed of as this party may determine in their good pleasure. If the stubbon traitors would but do this at once and in sincerity humility and truth five years would not roll over their heads before all of them would be pardoned upon the *recommendation* of the loyal members of their own immediate vicinity, so well authenticated as insures the imediate favorable action of the Party in Congress assembled without travelling them over the country with trying them by a Jury. And so any one may, if they will but now join our organization save their life property reputation and all the privileges of an American Citizen and at the same time identify himself with the Mighty Republican Union Party, and thus soon come to the front ranks in that party here in the South backed by the votes and suported ultimately by the African race as a unit which element will be a garantee of success in the South for generations yet to come. Those who do not see proper to hasten to join these clubs of patriotic loyalists will have to take what comes or may be meated out to them by the great National Vigilance Committees and their auxiliray secret societies throughout the country.

I have not used the words, but this is in substance and effect of the motives and reasons urged upon thousands by these uncompromising liars and vilans that are prowling like so many ravenous wolves through the South to induce them by force or cowardice to join their secret clubs or vote with the *Malignants*—and that this is honestly the program laid down by the party or club now in power I have not a shadow of a doubt. Every move they make proves it. And the rapid manner in which they are organising these secret oath bound military clubs for the avowed purpose of arming them if they should deem it necessary to do so to carry out their purpose proves to my mind that they

are in dead earnest when they make known their purpose as above set forth in substance if not in their language exactly. But I trust in God and cannot be awed by them. I hope and believe it is but the vain boasting of Rabshack.[1] They may propose and intend to make us *"Drink our own piss and eat our own dung,"* as did the vain boasting Asyrian declare they intended to make the poor famished Jews do in Jerusalem—and yet the Jews lived and the mighty host of Senacherib[2] it was that bit the dust. I have thought it my duty this morning to give you in the hasty and imperfect manner, a hint as to the manner in which the machine is doing work and end had in view, that you may, if it is thought advisable to set it forth in proper state you may have the proper data or information at hand to do so. Of course I have not written one word of this for publication just as I have put it together—at a full canter—no not a word of it yet. I do think something ought to be written and published, and not a little but a great deal on this subject and that immediately. If we die let us die as Moses did with our own poor despised and enslaved people. If we are overpowered let us not sucumb but act the part of Christian Patriots as did Daniel of old—let us never bow to the Golden images of the Howard Amendment if we have to go to the lion's den of Radicalism—let our leaders have but the brave heart as Queen Esther to go forward in the right way whether the party or the throne stretch forth the golden cepture of power or not while the rank and file be like Mordecai robe themselves in sack cloth and pray to heaven to be delivered out of the hands of the wicked *Haman* that have shown their bitter spite in erecting galuses or gibbits to execute us upon.

You may think I have turned preacher, not exactly so, but you may tell Brother Pell if you like that I do not think there is enough of charity and strong faith enough in God and toward our poor sinful race. And yet I am

[1] Rabshackeh, II. Kings 18:27.

[2] Sennacherib, II. Kings 19:35.

not for compromising with no Judas or Haman or Arnold not a bit of it. Yet there are thousands of honest well-meaning men who are misled and mis-guided by others while these hundred that are cowed by fear while not a few think and that honestly it is best to make no opposition until we get back into the Union, but to join the Radicals, and go with them, until we get our Representatives and then join issue with them. Most of these men I have every reason to believe are honest, as I know they are mistaken—They say our head is in the Lion's mouth. We must get it out the *best way we can.* I tell them I never can do wrong that good may come of it, I am as forbid as a Christian to do so—if I did I would slander all Christians and Patriots and disgrace my own name and ancestors, etc., etc.

Forgive me for inflicting on you this awfully long rigamarole. But get Pell and Gales to ventilate this matter, but I do not wish it to appear as hailing from Guilford County of Greensborough or this section of the state. We have stormy sea, high winds and the Union vessels have *exceedingly* weak and inefficient pilots on board. No weaker ticket could have been started scarcely and yet under all the circumstances it was the best we could do owing to the peculiar circumstances in which we are placed, and for the want of the property qualification of several that could have been got to run and would have made an effective canvass but by hard work I hope all may get through. I have written communications to one paper in another state for publication touching this matter. I think if you could get some one to write to the *National Intelligencer* and then copy it it would do good.

[P. S.]—I am decidedly of the impression that if several able articles were written fully ventilating the course pursued by the Malignants in the South and were forthwith published in the Southern papers it would tell for good—Think of this California Vigilance Committee organization with the Auxiliary Clubs of Vigilance to set

aside the courts. If the people stand such proceedings our liberties are gone. Turn the matter over in your mind and act upon it frankly—but quietly and as far from home as possible at *first*—and as correspondent. And then comment on the letters when published here at home is my idea, etc., etc., No time to read anything I have written over. If anything be wrong you must set it down to haste and confusion. The male closes soon and I must seace to write to get my letter in.

[P. S.]—Much of this has come indirect from northern men, etc.

To Colonel J. V. Bomford.

Raleigh, *Oct. 1 1866.*

Alexander Moore, of color, who is employed as a servant in the chief offices of the Capitol and Julius, formerly my slave, have been allowed by your predecessors, with my assent, to occupy the houses they live in belonging to the State. They are both worthy men, and I hope will be permitted to remain in the houses they occupy.

I hear that there are other colored occupants of some of the houses belonging to the Governor's mansion. No others, excepting Alex. and Julius, are there by my assent or permission.

I write this note at the request of Alex.—

Raleigh, N. C.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Raleigh *Oct. 1/66.*

Your late letters have been received. The pressure of daily duties restricts me to a very brief reply.

North Carolina politics.

I am yet ignorant whether Genl D favors the ratification of the Howard amendment, or whether he accepts the Holden nomination.

The *Standard* is sending out his tickets, from what I infer he is to be voted for whether he is a candidate or not. A secret organization exists in the State—supposed to be the same as the loyal League of the North—which is co-operating with Holden. As to the extent of its membership I know nothing.

The nomination of Dockery over me as an unmistakable loyal man is absurd unless you adopt the Holden theory that you are to judge men without reference to their antecedents. The journals show that in Dec. 1860 he voted for the appropriation of $300,000. to be placed in Gov. Ellis's hands to arm the State, while I voted against it.—In May 1861 he voted for a Convention to dissolve the Union while I voted against it—Holden and Thomas, the chief men who nominated him, sought seats in the Convention of 1861 and voted the State out of the Union—I refused to be elected a member of that Convention. Antecedents don't suit my opponents.

Come what may I will not ratify an amendment of the Constitution by which I would declare myself ineligible as a constable and which makes eligible the most ultra Seccessionist who voluntarily voted the State out of the Union and voluntarily took up arms against the U. S., provided he had held no office before the war. We all owe allegiance to the U. S. as well those who had taken the oath as those who had not—and when the U. S. was not able to protect those who would have adhered to their allegiance, I do not acknowledge the criminality of those who obeyed the powers that were.

Without referring to the many other incongruous provisions of the amendment to be ratified or rejected as a whole, I am with the President in his position that no amendment, proposed by the Congress while we are denied representation, ought to be ratified.

As a conquered people we must submit to such terms as our conquerors shall impose, but no generous man ought

to expect us to hasten to the whipping post and invite the lash in advance of condemnation.

I greatly fear that the North does not intend we shall be allowed to be members of the great Republic, retaining any sense of manhood.

Appointment of Railroad Directors.

You mention that my appointment of Jas. Morehead jr and Jno. A Gilmer jr were distasteful to some of my friends in Guilford. I am surprised at this. They were both for Union until war was begun. Their going to Ft. Macon with Jos. Turner and others—all Union men—was, as I thought, wrong—but I stood alone then. If I had looked only to those to fill offices who did not participate in the war, I could not have produced the general reconciliation among our people which I deem *essential* to a Union worth preserving. If the North would adopt a like generous course, gratitude on the part of the great body of our people would soon make a great *fraternal* Union.

WASHINGTON.

To C. C. Clark.

Oct. 1/66.

North Carolina politics.

I inclose to you a letter for my client, Mrs. Maria Franck, Richlands—Onslow County. I would send it direct but do not know whether Richland's P. O. has been restored. She wrote me lately, but her letter was mailed at Newbern.

It is understood here this evening that Genl Dockery declines to accept the nomination, on the grounds that the nominating meeting was not large enough—and on the further ground that the election is too near at hand to give him time to canvass the State,—but approving the Howard amendment.—The purpose is, through secret organizations, to vote for him without subjecting him to the mortification of defeat as a Candidate. You will probably find his printed tickets at every precinct.

It is truly humiliating that any prominent man in N. C. should so degrade himself, in order to purchase the dispensing favor of two-thirds of Congress, as to favor the ratification of any amendment to the Constitution, proposed in a Congress in which we are denied representation, much more that there should be any white man in the State in favor of placing a negro and a white man side by side in a jury box, and making ineligible to office nearly all her representative men. Politicians have the ignoble excuse that they thereby purchase the privilege of ruling over an unwilling people and by fawning buy exemption from Confiscation and other favors from their Conquerors. No full-blooded North Carolinian will humiliate and degrade himself by favoring this amendment, whatever may be the consequences of refusing to ratify it.

New Bern.

From T. D. Bryson.

Webster, Jackson Co., N. C.

October the 1st, 1866.

Yours of Sept. 18th is to hand together with your tickets, etc. I see since the date of yours that Mr. Alfred Dockery is your opponent and upon the Radical Platform. We have but few Radicals in this County and they are growing beautifully less.

I am a candidate for reelection in this County and am opposed to the Radical doctrine of Negro equality and oppression.

Gov. I was some what surprised upon receiving a letter from the Agt. of the State, Mr. Siler, Agt. for the collection of Cherokee Bonds, informing me as (President of the Tuckaseege & Keowee Turnpike Road) that you had instructed him not to subscribe to that Road under the Bill of last session. This decision has made quite a damper in this County, as this road is so much needed

that every man in the county is interested in its completion, and we think the Bill so plain. The points made by Mr. Siler as he informed me that his first impression was that it conflicted with the Macon County Turnpike. The Bill is clear that it does not interfere with that road and further there are some outstanding debts due by Mr. Siler (a very small amount which this bill does not interfere with. So I cannot see what grounds for delay. We further claim that under an Act of 1848 authorizing a survey for the Western T. R. and Act of 1852, Page 620 Vol. 1st, authorizing Mr. Siler to retain the amount of the expenses of the survey and collect and pay into the Treasury, which amount he has retained and has in his hands now—has not been applied to any other purpose and that this bill repeals that law and applies that fund to this road. This position is taken by Col. Wm. H. Thomas and the candidates for the Senate that this fund is applicable to this road aside from the other bonds in Mr. Siler's hands. The road is now under contract and contractors at work under an order of the Company, as every person here thought the Bill plain and your decision has made quite a damper. I hope Gov. you will look into the Bills and let me hear from you at once. The road will cost but a small amount of the funds. If this decision had not been against the road we could have carried this county 10 to 1 for you. An early answer is all important.

To Nereus Mendenhall.

Raleigh *Oct. 2 1866.*

Tourgee's speech.

The public know that you participated in the meeting which delegated Tourgee to the Phila. Convention. They have read his speech there. While uncontradicted by the persons who sent him, he must be regarded, and he has a right to claim, that he was a true exponent of their

views and opinions. From the *place* where the meeting was held and your participation in it, the inference is generally drawn, that the Quakers, who are remarkable for their unity of action and among whom you are a prominent man endorse the view that Union men are oppressed by the civil authorities of the State,—that they are in favor of disfranchising the great body of the white men of the State and allowing universal suffrage to the recently emancipated negro—that you favor a constitutional amendment which would exclude from office Gov. Graham and every other prominent man in N. C., who have always stood up for the Quakers.

You know that but for the efforts of Gov. Graham the Quakers would have suffered intolerable oppression. He, as I know, and many of his friends, regard you as seeking to persecute him.

I know, but the *public does not know,* that you opposed the adoption of the resolution which slanders the State authorities and I believe that you and the Quakers generally will vote for me in preference to Genl Dockery—and notwithstanding you may disapprove some acts of Gov. Graham during the war, I am sure, taking his whole life together, you would still sustain him.

As you got into that Tourgee meeting, reluctant as I know you are to appear before the public, I submit to you whether you ought not to place yourself right by a note to the public, in the Greensboro *Patriot, Old North State* or other news-paper.

New Garden.

To Drake & Sons.

Raleigh *Oct. 4/66.*

Concerning certain assertions of the opposition.

You will see in the *Standard* of this date that Holden asserts he has in his possession evidence of the most undoubted character, that it is not safe for a Union man in

certain localities West of this place to announce their views from the stump. "We *know* that one of our worthiest public men has been driven from the stump and silenced by armed ex-rebels; and we apprehend that the election will not be free at some boxes in that portion of of the State."—"We *know* the fact that the American flag was pulled down by armed ex-rebels at Jefferson a week or two ago."—The Sec. of State, Mr. Best, who is a worthy man and voted for Holden against me last Fall "Holden and get back—Worth and stay out of the Union" informs me that he this day asked Holden who was the man "silenced by armed ex-rebels,"—that Mr. Holden replied that it was Mr. Cowles, Candidate for the Senate in your district and it was in Iredell where he was thus silenced. I give you this fact for such commentary as the facts may warrant. My name must not be mentioned as communicating those facts.—Nor is it expedient that Mr. Bests' name appear in the news-papers. He did not enjoin confidence but it had better be referred to without involving him in an issue with an unscrupulous man. You can refer to the facts as derived from a reliable source.

Statesville.

To Dr. J. T. Leach.[1]

Personal.

Raleigh, *Oct. 4, 1866.*

Defending his record.

My intimate acquitance with you leads me to the conclusion that you as an honest man, with enough courage to avow your sentiments.

From two articles lately appearing in the *Standard*, the recommendations which [*Here follow several lines that are illegible.*]

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[1] Joseph T. Leach, of Johnston county, was a physician. He was prominent in the peace movement during the war and was elected to the Confederate Congress on the peace issue. After the war, unlike most of the peace party, he became a Democrat.

Second. That you regard us as a conquered people, bound to accept such terms as Congress may impose.

Third.—that if we ratify the Howard amendment, we will be entitled to representation in Congress, and therefore we ought to ratify it.

As to the first proposition you will admit the safest rule of judging men is by their actions.

In 1860 I voted against the bill putting $300,000. into the hands of a Secession Govr—General Dockery voted for it. See the Journal.

In May, 1861 I voted on the final reading against a Convention—Genl. Dockery for it. See Journal.

During the war I never said I was for peace and Independence. I considered and uniformly declared that this cry was absurd and deceptive and on all proper occasions said so, and maintained that we ought to make peace on the basis of a restoration of the Union. This I can establish by my letters written at divers periods during the war, often to men differing in opinion with me. Whilst I stood faithfully for my section, *after* I could not avert war, I never denied that I favored peace on the only *practical basis*—Union. Genl. D. indignantly denied that he favored re-construction.

After the war was over and I offered to run for Govr. I put myself before the people, asking their support upon my Union Record. Holden had been a Secessionist. I never had. He voted the State out of the Union. I would not accept a seat in the Convention.

Perhaps you say I was admired by the Secessionists and was therefore sustained. When their old associate turned upon them and reviled them, is it not natural that they should hate him? They respect me as a life-long Union man. But the most ultra Union counties also voted for me—for instance, Alamance, Anson, Camden, Chowan, Davidson, Hertford, Davie, Forysthe, Gates, Granville, Montgomery, Orange, Pasquotank and Perquimans.

Possibly you may have been led into the unjust cry that I have favored Secessionists in my patronage. If you think so, I ask you to review them. If I have given a government position to a Secessionist, I can't recall it. The only offices, having any rewards attached, were State Geologist, Private Secretary and Keeper of the Capitol. My private secretary was one of Mr. Holden's confidential secretaries. He did not vote for either me or Holden. Both the others voted for Holden. All were as ardent Union men as you or I.

My next most important appointments were the board of Internal improvement—Winston and Ramsey—both life long Whigs and Unionists—quite as loyal as you or I.

All the members of the board of Literature were old Whigs and Union men till war actually commenced. Two of them ardently supported the war *after* it commenced, as most union men did.

Five sixths of the Directors I appointed on the R. Roads were ante-war men—old Whigs—several of them did not suport me—for instance, Cowles, Boyden, Ramsey, of Carteret, and Lassiter.

I appointed on the roads a few Secessionists. Strange is one. Best may be another. I don't know whether Best was a Secessionist or not. I did not re-appoint meny of Holden's directors, because they had no stock. I made better appointments.

I do not expect a man of your intelligence and fairness to complain of my appointment of Gov. Bragg as a supervisor of the Lunatick Asylum. I selected five men distinguished for benevolence, intelligence and their personal virtues. I did not care for their political antecedents.

If on a candid review you condemn my appointment I shall be surprised.

The editor of the Charlotte *Democrat* opposes me on the ground that I have proscribed Democrats.

As to your second proposition I hold that the Union

has not been dissolved. That North Carolina is in the Union and entitled to the benefits of the Constitution of the U. S. and bound to obey it. If not, our Genl. A. cannot ratify an amendment to the Constitution.

As to the *third* proposition that the Howard amendment is offered to us as a condition precedent to our being allowed representation in Congress, allow me to say that we not only have no assurance that its adoption would induce Congress to allow us representation, *but we have positive evidence to the contrary.* After its adoption by Congress, a proposition was offered that whenever a State should ratify this amendment, such State should be allowed representation. This proposition was rejected. The amendment stands before us therefore for adoption or rejection upon its merits or demerits. I don't approve it.

When the Prest. presented his plan of re-construction, the whole North approved it. We complied with all the conditions. *After we had complied Congress refused its sanction.* Before we make further amendments let us be sure their adoption will relieve us from our thraldom.

Smithfield.

To Editors of the National Intelligencer.

Raleigh *Oct. 4 1866.*

I enclose $10. for yr paper to July 30th 1867 as per your notification of Sept. 20th 1866.

Concerning the work of the opposition.

You will have perceived that I have no opposition for re-election as Govr. Mr. Holden's nominee, Genl Dockery, refusing to accept the nomination, but endorsing the Howard Amendment as a condition precedent to the admission of our representatives. If you would re-publish the resolution and vote thereon, declaring that any State adopting this amendment, should thereupon be entitled to representation, it would strengthen the friends of the

President. No body here favors the ratification of this amendment per se. Some of our people are so anxious for the complete restoration to our relations to the Union that they favor the adoption of this amendment. Some would submit to any humiliation to effect this. *I* think we ought to ratify no amendment proposed in a Congress in which we are denied representation.

Holden is sending tickets over the State exhorting the people to vote for Dockery for Govr., as a better Union man than I am. The comparison of our records shows that in Dec. 1860, Genl Dockery and I being Senators in the Genl Assembly, on a proposition to put $300,000. into the hands of our Secession Govr. to arm the State, he voted *for* the proposition, and I with only two others, voted *against* it. On the final passage of the bill in May 1861, calling a Convention, he voted *for* and I voted *against it.* During the war, when events forced me to elect between the belligent sections, we both co-operated with the South, but I deemed it consistent with my fealty to the South to advocate peace on the basis of the Union. He repelled the idea of favoring reconstruction.

This note is not intended for publication, but simply to call your attention to record facts.

From S. S. Jackson.

Ashboro, N. C. *Oct. 5th 1866.*

Politics in Moore and Montgomery.

I have just returned from Montgomery County with a large amount of business on my table requiring attention:—Genl. Woub and Col. Richardson are candidates for the Senate in Moore and *Montgomery.* Richardson for the Haywood Amendment and Woub against it. Allen Jordan and *McAlister* are candidates for Commons in *Montgomery.* The first for H. Amendment and the other *against it.* It is thought by many, that Col. Richardson and Jordan would be elected. I gave your

tickets for Montgomery to Sheriff McAuley, he is a good man, and will distribute them. Your tickets for Moore, I gave to Genl. Woub. I think you will get a good vote in *Montgomery.* M. S. Robins and Col. Wrenn are canvassing *Alamance.* The candidates for the Commons here are Ashworth, Blair, Wm. Cannon, Wm. *Macon*—Walker and George Black. The two last for you and against the Amendment; the others against you and in favor of *Amendment.* I hope our County is all *right;* but the prospects are a little gloomy. The Quakers are numerous here; and I see this evening that Jon Harris of Guilford is for the Senate and the *H. Amendment* and from this, I fear the *Quakers* will generally follow. I will write again.

Give my love to all.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Raleigh *Oct. 5 1866.*

Relating to applications for pardon.

On the 19th May last Franklin Thompson, and J. W. Thompson, of Onslow County, filed their petitions for pardon under the 1st Exception. They aver that they had filed a petition in the summer of 1865—The pardons have not come to hand. Please try to get them. The parties have made repeated applications for them. I think the omission to issue them is attributable to oversight or other accident, as their pardon has been uniformly recommended.

Washington, D. C.

To Worth & Daniel.

Raleigh, *Oct. 6/66.*

Roxana writes me that she had 39 lbs of cotton in the bale you lately sold for W. C. Roberts & Co.—that net proceeds of sale in your hands is $114.30—Of this sum

place $12.09 to her credit, and I have this day drawn on you at sight in favor of J. G. Williams & Co. for the bal. $102.21.

It now seems I am to be re-elected Govr without opposition, a thing which has not happened before so far as I know in the history of the State. Considering the extraordinary difficulties I have had to encounter and the untiring efforts of Holden and his followers to condemn everything I have done or omitted, I highly appreciate this exhibition of confidence.

I am gratified to hear continually of your continued success in business.

To T. D. Bryson.

Raleigh *Oct. 7, 1866.*

Yours of the 1st inst. is just to hand. I recd a letter about the 12th of last month a letter from Mr. Siler, and soon afterwards other letters from other persons, asking my construction of the acts of the last session of the Genl Assembly in relation to the Tuckaseegee & Keowee Turnpike Co. In reply to Mr. Siler I said. "I am not authorised by law to place any authentic construction upon these laws; but being willing to aid you, if possible, I have examined the acts. The legislative will is so obscurely expressed, I think it would be well to defer action until the Genl A. shall pass an explanatory act. I would refer the matter to the Att. Genl for an opinion, if he were here. He is on his circuit, and your letter having had so slow a passage, and feeling confident he would endorse the course suggested, I deem it best to answer at once. If all parties shall not acquiesce in this course, let me know, and I will ask the Att. Genl to place a construction on this act".

The foregoing, was not intended as "instructions". Soon after writing it I recd other letters on the subject

and referred Mr. Siler's and all the other letters to the Att Genl. He called on me soon afterwards and assured me he would soon file his opinion in writing. He has failed to do so, probably because his duties on the circuit would not permit him to do so. He told me, from the examination he had then given the subject he did not think there was any conflict between the acts. I have not had time to give deliberate consideration to the question:—and if I had, I have no authority to give Mr. Siler any instructions on the subject—and have not done so.

I hear of very few Radicals any where in this State—Holden advises all of them to vote for Dockery, and I presume they will do so. I am utterly opposed to the ratification of this amendment,—the Howard amendment.

Webster.

To P. H. Winston.

Raleigh *Oct. 8/66.*

Prospects of the opposition.

Holden and his followers and certain Loyal League secret political co-workers will give Genl Dockery all the votes they can—probably about as many as he would have gotten as a Candidate. It will be a poor showing, but those who would not gape for the Howard amendment should not neglect to vote for me.

Dr. Ramsey and I will leave here on Tuesday morning, Oct. 23rd, by the R. & G. R. R. to visit the Albemarle & C. Canal. Where shall we meet you?

Windsor.

To Marshall Parks.

Raleigh, *Oct. 8/66.*

I and my board of Internal Improvement and perhaps some invited friends will leave here by the R. & G. R. R.

on Tuesday morning, Oct. 23rd, to make the excursion on your Canal in conformity with your polite invitation. Where are we to meet you?

Norfolk, Va.

To Dr. J. G. Ramsey.

Raleigh, *Oct. 8/66.*

I have written to Messrs Winston & Parks that we will leave here by the R. & G. train, on Tuesday morning Oct. 23rd, to make the excursion on the Albemarle and C. Canal. Will you be on hand?

Rowan Mills.

From David L. Saunders.

Beaufort, N. C. *Oct. 9th 1866.*

Political conditions in Carteret.

As you doubtless anticipate strong opposition in this county, I have thought it proper to write to you to inform you that your friends are active and fully alive to their duty. With the exception of Dr. Arendell and Mr. W. I. Doughty the leading men in this county irrespective of former political predelictions are your warm supporters. Such men as Col. Perry, E. L. Bell, Esq., and others who take an interest in politics, are all earnestly advocating your election. I do not think the disaffection extends beyond Morehead City, and if so, only to a limited extent. The Sheriff of this County has taken decided grounds in your favor. Be assured that those who oppose you are in a hopeless minority and will meet with certain defeat. You may rely upon Carteret. Col. Perry will be elected to the Ho. of Commons beyond doubt, and I think Mr. Koonce will go to the Senate. Bell and Koonce, candidates for the Senate, are both for you; indeed it would be political death for either to oppose you. Personal dis-

appointments and antipathies cannot influence men when great principles are at stake. The friends of Johnson must be sustained and the Howard Amendment and its advocates voted down.

I have taken the liberty of writing to you because the times are encouraging and I am anxious for you to know that your interests are safe in this County. I regret that I am not acquainted with you, yet as a friend, I have ventured to address you. As a Carteret County man, deeply imbued with North Carolina patriotism, I cordially approve your Administration, and were I disposed to render the least objection to you it would only arise from your partiality to your old political friends, when the great body of the old line Democrats are equally as zealous in your support. I would prefer to see no distinction when we should all know each other as conservative men and patriots, and not as Democrats or Whigs. We shall do our duty and you may expect a good report from this County.

To J. Keener.

RALEIGH, *Oct. 9/66.*

I recd today a letter from Mr. Thomas, another from Mr. Bryson, and also yours.

I did not give Mr. Siler any "instructions" but suggested whether, with the concurrence of all parties, action could not be suspended until further action making plain the will of the Genl Assembly. The last sentence of my letter is in these words. "If all parties shall not acquiesce in this course, let me know and I will ask the Att. Genl to place a construction on the Acts."—I have not heard from him since:—but having received other letters on the subject, I soon afterwards referred all the letters to the Att. Genl. He has been on his circuit and has not filed an opinion. I hope to get his answer soon and will immediately forward it.

I have no authority to give any instructions to Mr. Siler on the subject and in my letter to him expressly disclaimed any such power.

I regret that my action has been misunderstood.

Hoping Radicalism will receive little countenance in N. C. and that you and all the friends of the President's policy may be sustained by the people.

Webster.

To S. S. Jackson.

Raleigh *Oct. 10/66.*

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The Howard amendment.

It will be a reproach on Randolph if the people vote for Dockery as a better Union man than I. I am, as a Union man, as much opposed to the Howard amendment, as I was opposed to Secession in 1860.

The Prest. is probably not sustained in any of the Northern States. This in no-wise changed my views as to the action it will be proper for this State to pursue. We ought to sustain or reject the Howard amendment upon its merits, and retain our self-respect. Further unbecoming concession can only beget contempt.

Dockery's vote will not be large—Mary and her ma. went to Wilmington last Monday.—Daniel writes us that Mary had chill on the way—followed by fever. I have much solicitude about her. She was apparently improving when she left. She took a fancy to attend the Tournament in Fayetteville. I consented as I always do and now regret it. Dr. McKee was confident as to her improving condition when she left.

To Henry M. Earle.

Raleigh, *Oct. 10th 1866.*

Your letter directs my attention to a subject on which I have heretofore bestowed no consideration. I would gladly examine the Act of the S. C. Legislature to which you refer. Can you give me the date of its passage? On more thorough consideration I may deem it expedient to adopt your suggestion.

Whiteville.

From D. H. Starbuck.

Salem *Oct. 10th 1866.*

Your letter of the 29th ulto I found at home on my return from Davidson Court; and no doubt you have thought strange in not receiving from me an earlier acknowledgement of the same. Political conditions in Forsyth.

Things in this and adjoining counties are going all right. If Genl. Dockery had accepted Forsyth County would have given you 4 to his 1.

The Union men of this county have an abiding confidence in your Union principles. They are fully posted of your Union sentiments during the war, and they cannot be induced to believe by the *Standard* that you would forsake your old friends and life long Union principles because such voted for you in preference to a man who had been as mean as they and who had deserted them in the hour when he saw that there was no hope for success for them. Besides your high character for integrity and known and decided opinions against repudiation would induce all honest men of all parties to support you in preference to one whose only principle on this subject is to pander to a dishonest principle to get votes. Peter A Wilson and Elijah B. Teague will be elected in Commons in this County by a large majority because they

oppose the corrupt and damnable doctrine of repudiation while Charles Teague has become Allspaugh's candidate in favor of repudiation even of private debts. Our State is suffering more from the utter prostration of her finances than for any other cause. Her banks that prior to the war furnished $7,000,000 of sound currency have been ruined by repudiation, and our people not only impoverished to that amount, but by destroying that amount of currency it has reduced the value of land in N. C. at least one half, making a loss to the people of the State in this one item of not less than fifty millions of dollars. If your recommendation on the subject of banks last winter had been adopted it would have surely saved us much. I hope our public officials will not lose sight of these things and the next Legislature be able to devise some plan to rescue the country from further financial ruin.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Raleigh, *Oct. 11/66.*

On the 22 July 1865, the books in this office show that the petition of L. H. Sanders for pardon was forwarded with the favorable recommendation of Govr. Holden. He held a petty office—apt. by the Collector in the County of Johnston. His pardon was advertised as granted by Govr. Holden. Mr. Sanders, now present, avers that he has never received his pardon. It has not been recd by me.

He is a truly worthy man—never a Secessionist.

Try to get his pardon.

Washington, D. C.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH, *Oct. 12 1866.*

Pardon recommendation.

In the summer of 1865, Willis Whitaker, Wake, aged 75 years, who supposed he might be worth $20,000 filed his petition for pardon. He is a quiet good citizen and I can conceive no reason why Govr. Holden declined to recommend his pardon. He is very anxious about it. I recommend his pardon.

I also recommend the pardon of W. A. Darden and A. D. Speight, both of Greene County, the former a tax collector and the latter assessor of Confederate taxes—and guilty of nothing else. Their petitions were filed in the summer of 1865 and suspended by advice of Gov. Holden.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To J. M. Parrott.

RALEIGH *Oct. 12/66.*

Holden is rallying his friends to vote for Dockery. He will probably get as many votes as if he were a regular candidate. I hope my friends will take care that as many votes are cast as possible. The people, unfortunately are growing indifferent to elections. This tends to the overthrow of popular government.

KINSTON.

From J. W. Alspaugh.

WINSTON N. C. *Oct. 16th 1866.*

Politics in Forsyth

Enclosed please find a Power of Att, upon which please affix your certificate as to D. G. Fowle being a Judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity in our State, and

return the same with a statement of the requisite fee in such cases, and I will at once enclose.

My notion is that you will carry the country here again by a large majority, but the Radicals will no doubt vote for Dockery. I have pursued such a course in the canvass as I deemed best for our cause. The *"Red Strings"* or Radicals here have taken a strong hold, and under the management of such men as D. H. Starbuck and Mr. Masten, Sheriff of the County, and I. T. Leak who opposes Johnson's administration they will in my opinion damage your majority in the county. Indeed, they confidently expect to elect E. B. Teague and D. A. Wilson, the nominees of the radical party for this district and I shall not be surprised if they succeed in accomplishing their designs.

If the Howard Amendment is adopted my impression is that the Southern States will again be thrown back into a territorial condition.

To J. W. Hinks and Company.

Raleigh *Oct. 17 1866.*

In reply to yours of the 13th inst., I have pleasure in saying that I am personally acquainted with Joseph D. Cannon, Dr. Thos. D. Hogg and Geo. W. Swepson. Each of them is regarded as a man of substantial means and good business character. In our impoverished state they are regarded as wealthy. I have no doubt as to their performance of any contract they may make.

Bridgeport, Conn.

To A. Miller.[1]

RALEIGH *Oct. 18 1866.*

Mail facilities.

I learn that the contractor for carrying the mail from this place to Fayetteville proposes to change his routes, going and returning on the East Side of the Cape Fear river—crossing the river at Fayetteville instead of crossing it at McNeill's Ferry some 24 miles this side of Fayetteville. The effect of this change would be the discontinuance of the two offices, McNeill's Ferry and Millgrove on the west side of the river, which are the two offices from which the county seat and the greater part of Harnett County is supplied. The Court House is on the West side of the river and would be a post excluded from mail facilities, if the proposed change of route be made, the river not being fordable and the ferries all charging toll.

The present route is shorter by five miles than the route crossing the river on the bridge at Fayetteville, and for the winter, as I believe, a better road and the detention of crossing the river at the ferry is more than balanced by the increased length of the route on the East side of the River.

I hope the route will not be changed, at all events until some other poste route be established by which the Court House in Harnett can be supplied with the mail.

It is represented to me that on the route East of the River, for thirty six miles this side of Fayetteville, no post master has been appointed and qualified, unless it has been very recently done.

I think the public interest forbids the proposed change of route and hope you will deem it your duty to use your influence to prevent it, until the matter shall have been fully considered.

RALEIGH.

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[1] The postmaster at Raleigh.

To General G. J. Rains.

Raleigh, *Oct. 20th 1866.*

Yours of the 24th ult. reached here in my absence from the city, and owing to accumulated business and inadequate clerical force, my answer has been too long deferred.

The office of Adj. Genl., if your application had reached me, which it did not, would not have suited you, the salary being only $200.

I forward your letter of Gov. Swain, Prest. of our University,—but fear there is no vacancy which would suit you.

Hoping that Providence has brighter days in reserve for you;

From E. B. Drake.

Statesville, N. C. *October 24/66*

Election results in Wilkes.

I regret to have to say that news has been received here from Wilkes that the notorious C. J. Cowles has been elected over O. H. Hill by a majority of 4 votes. There is ground to hope that Mr. Hill will contest his seat, and that the election will be referred back to the people, at least. There is not the least room to doubt that gross fraud was perpetrated at one or two boxes in Wilkes in behalf of Cowles.

Mr. Hill is one of the best and most worthy men—unexceptional in all respects—that I am acquainted with. His defeat in any manner is to be deplored.

"D. D." Dockery—while might now be rendered *Dead Dockery,* is no doubt satisfied.

To Daniel L. Russell.

Raleigh *Oct. 29/66.*

During my recent absence from the city your letter of the 23rd inst reached here.

I have to-day addressed a letter to Genl Robinson to ask his views on the question of binding minor children of color as apprentices. Col. Bumford is superseded by the return of Genl Robinson. I shall not be surprised if it leads to considerable correspondence. As soon as the matter assumes a definite form I will write you the ruling.

Shoe Heel.

To James Kyle.

Raleigh *Oct. 29 1866.*

Yours of the 23rd inst. is received.

Economic prostration in North Carolina.

Owing to the extreme dry summer much of the State, dependence on grain crops, will be very hard run to obtain subsistence until another crop can be made. The wheat crop was a sad failure. In the portions of the State where grain is the staple production there is almost no money. It will be with terrible difficulty that the people can pay, in addition to U. S. taxes, the necessary amount to defray the current expenses of the State and the enormous expenses of the Counties in supporting the poor, paying the expenses of the insolvent convicts, etc., makes it out of the question to impose a tax this year to pay the interest on the State debt. I presume an Act will be passed authorising the issue of new bonds in place of overdue Coupons and such bonds as shall fall due for the next year—and possibly for the next two years as the Genl Assembly meets bi-ennially.

As to the ultimate redemption of paying interest and the payment of our bonds as they fall due I can only say that I am utterly opposed to repudiation in any form,

but I think the mass of our people will not consent to be taxed to meet the interest until we shall be allowed on honorable terms representation in Congress. Our people, under the action of the North towards us, are growing indifferent as to all governmental matters. Not half our people voted at our late election.

New York City.

To James Hay.

Raleigh *Oct. 31 1866.*

The question which you propound is a purely legal one to which I can give no authoritative answer as Governor.

Personally I entertain no doubt that a constable, who has not taken the oath of amnesty required in the proclamation of the President of the 25th May 1865, is not now, by reason of that omission, ineligible. If otherwise eligible and duly elected and qualified, I think you are bound to recognize his official acts as valid.

Boon Hill.

To Daniel L. Russell.

Raleigh *Oct. 31/66.*

I inclose to you a copy of my letter to Genl Robinson, and a copy of his answer just received, from which you will perceive that no redress is to be obtained from Genl Robinson. I shall send a copy of the correspondence to the Prest. of the U. S., in the hope of some relief but I am not confident he will interfere. I presume he will refer me to the Courts.

Please answer as to the facts Genl Robinson sets forth.

Shoe Heel.

From D. F. Caldwell.

GREENSBORO N. C. *Nov. 2 1866.*

Conditions in North Carolina.

I have just returned from the Mt. Vernon Springs Convention in Chatham. They had a very fine meeting, had considerable conversation and some interesting speeches and passed a preamble and resolutions—a little high fulooting but as they were drawn up by Mr. McCoy of Fayetteville we did not think it prudent to offer any amendment, to strip them of their verbiage, etc. I hope you will do all you can for us in the next Legislature. The truth is the road will come to a perfect standstill, if it does not rot down, if it is left as it now is. It should by all means be extended to the N. C. R. R. This can and will be done if the mortgage the state holds on the road is lifted and the state takes the amount she has subscribed in stock, and then gives the company the power to mortgage the road for funds to complete it, with what stock we can get along the line, etc., etc. The Road completed to the N. C. R. R. it will give us a line by Rail and River to Wilmington, by the coal fields and ore banks and iron works in Chatham of 225 miles that cannot fail to prove profitable and of great practical advantage to a large section of the state; especially the many agricultural and manufacturing interests of the state. This being the case I feel confident you will not be slow to avail yourself of all your influences and position to aid in its completion, etc. I have never seen such roads before in my life, they are absolutely almost impassable. I have done my best in this county, and though I have got ours in some better condition than I find them in Randolph and Chatham, still they are in bad condition, and under the present system they cannot be worked. When we indict an overseers we find there is no fixed district etc and they get off at the cost of the county. I am clearly of the opinion that all the counties of the state should be laid off in townships of ten miles square or something like that. That

these townships should be named by the county courts when laid off. That in the center of each should be an election precinct and that a certain number of magistrates, road and school commissioners and perhaps agricultural commissioners should be appointed or elected by the Legislature or county courts or by the people and *no more.* We can never keep down the number of magistrates in any other way. This is as certain as it is important. The road commissioners should have the power to apportion all the hands and assign them to their respective roads and appoint the overseares and return them to the county courts to be recorded in this way. The bad roads which is frequently in hilly and poor parts of the county and where there is but a spare population, could get hands to keep them in something like passable order. We have in this county some very bad roads where this is but a very few hands while on others, where there we have naturally good roads, there is some 20 or 25 hands. While today I passed over five miles of the roughest road I ever saw and the oversears (in Randolph) had but 3 hands. And he told me he had tried to keep up the road with these but found it impossible to do so. These suggestions (though they may seem to be a small matter to you) I am confident are of vast importance to the public. Mr. Swaim, our County Court Clerk, has talked to me a great deal, with others, and has pressed upon me to call your attention. I have also conversed with several gentlemen, in other states who concur in opinion that there is no other plan to remedy our defective system but the Township plan that has been adopted by nearly all the other States. By thus having a central point to vote and transact all the business of the township, we can soon get up a competition and emulation among them—by offering premiums if no other way to the township that has the best roads the best schools the best agricultural society and the least crime or criminals in it, etc. I have been assured that it is in this way that the people in many of

the other states have managed to get up and difuse a helthy public and patriotic spirit among all classes of their inhabitants—even among the children at school. I am confident that it would not fail to do such for us in N. C. And most assuredly we need something of the kind. Our people are well nigh heart broken, their children growing up in ignorance, the older sons emigrating to the west, and leaving their old dejected and impoverished parents behind them, many of them to end their days in the poor houses of the state if their sorrows do not carry them to premature graves. I hope you will think of these things and recommend the revival of our schull beginning agricultural societies, and the appointing of magistrates, commissioners for roads, etc., in every township of the state. It can do no harm and I believe will do great good as has been the result in all the other states. We need organization and more attention to county and state matters, and this is the only feasible plan. We must begin to difuse life and energy among the people. We must begin at the foundation and educate the people by letting the boys have a chance to act as constables, coroners, commissioners, magistrates, etc. etc. there is too much family favoritism in all our appointments. Too many drunken men, etc. appointed. Let the districts like Alfred did the hundreds—attend to their own neighborhood affairs and if they do not attend to it well—let them suffer the penalties of the law and the reproach and disgrace that will surely fall upon them. When this course is pursued then we will soon see a change and not before. Another thing should be done all persons convicted of high misdemeanors and crimes should be put to work on our roads, streets, or making brick as Maryland did before she had a penatentary indeed it was in this way she built and paid for her penatentary. Our jail is crowded now having less than 18 or 20 in it for crimes and costs, etc. But I have no time to say more.

From Daniel Russell.

Robeson City *Nov. 4th 1866.*

Apprentice cases.

Your favours of the 29th and 31st ultimo has been recd, in your last you state that you would enclose a copy of your letter to Gen. Robinson and his answer and requested me to answer as to the facts Gen. Robinson sets forth. You must have made a mistake as no copy of your letter or answer from Genl. Robinson was enclosed in your letter of the 31st, nor have I received any. I regret that I have not received the statements made by Genl. Robinson, as I am desirous of knowing what facts he sets forth, or what he pretends to be facts. I am very anxious to know what course is to be pursued. There has been a habeas corpus issued by Judge Gillam at the instance of a negro who professes to be the Step Father of some children bound by the County Court of Robeson at Aug. term. The writ was returned at the last Superior Court at Lumberton before Judge Gillam and he decided the Court had a right to bind the children and I was entitled to have them. Judge French who appeared for the negro man took an appeal to the Supreme Court. But after I left Lumberton my counsel Mr. McL. McRay agreed with Judge French that they would argue the case again and that I could make another reply to the writ. Judge Gillam told me at Smithville that I would have to be at Fayetteville while he was there holding Court which will set tomorrow week and perhaps about the 15th I will be there to let the case be argued over. I have no fears as to the Judges decision unless the miserable Bureau should interfere. I have not met with any one who seems to know what powers are given to the agents of the Freedmans Bureau in relation to apprenticing coloured children, or any other powers. I am satisfied they have assumed powers not given in the law. I have just written to the Editors of the *National Intelligencer* and requested them to send me a certified copy of the Freedmans Bureau

bill or both bills which has been passed by Congress. I am determined to carry the matter out and keep the apprentices if there is any law to justify me. If the President refers you to the Civil Courts I should think the Bureau would not have jurisdiction in such cases. How does this man Robinson get over his letter to you last July in which he stated all matters were turned over to the Courts of the State. I am very much concerned about these matters and I am tired of being trifled with by such fellows as are put in authority in this State as agents of the Bureau.

From C. H. Wiley.

GREENSBORO, N. C. *Nov. 10th 1866.*

I take the liberty of enclosing a memorandum to which I invite your special attention.

I know your interest in the matter in question—& this, its intrinsic importance, & the attention I have long given to it are my excuses for writing.

[*Enclosure.*]

Page I.

Memorandum in Regard to the Swamp lands.

(1)

1. Let the Legislature exempt them from taxation for 10 or 15 years. Act of Assembly to be passed.

2. Let the Legislature vest in the Literary Board full authority to examine, to perfect titles, to ascertain the amount, location and quality of the lands, and to improve, test and sell limiting the Board to an annual expenditure of, say not more than $3000 or $4000 *per annum,* from the General School Fund, and requiring all other expenses to come from the lands.

3. Let the Board have power to bargain with private parties for drainage or cultivation, or settling, or experiments, by taking parties into co-partnership, the private parties to pay expenses, etc.

4. To enable the Board to carry out these powers authorize it to appoint a

Commissioner of School Lands, & Secretary of Board. of Literature.

(II)

Commissioner of School lands, & Secretary of Board of Literature.

Commissioner of school lands. Duties of.

Let it be the duty of this agent or officer

1. To ascertain what lands belong to the School Fund, where located, state of the title, and character of the lands, and extent, and present condition.

2. To have small maps constructed from old surveys, of each body, showing its position in the State. (Old maps of surveys have no county boundaries.)

3. To register the lands and maps, with a description of each body.

4. To perfect titles, and where lands have never been surveyed, to have this done, if possible.

5. To call attention, at home and abroad, to the lands, invite examinations and solicit bids.

6. To engage private parties to drain, improve, test or cultivate the lands by offering an interest in them, or giving parts of them, etc, etc.

7. To engage persons especially to drain and cultivate parts of the Open Ground Prairie (What this land wants is *packing*. When it is plowed a few years the vegetable mould will sink and pack, sand will be found a few inches below, and will mix with it.)

8. To sell timber, keep off poachers, etc.

(III)

Supervision of Literary Board.

The Literary Board to consent to all contracts, receive and expend all moneys, sign all deeds, etc., etc. Literary Board.

Finally. The Commissioner and Secretary of the Board to endeavor to keep the *machinery* and the Spirit of the Com Schools alive—to keep the public in hope—to enlighten it as to the means of education, to devise plans and to stimulate and call out public opinion.

The Act authorizing all the above can be made very brief. Those things need not all be stated in the law. They are stated above to show *my* views of what should be done. Secretary of Board.

From G. F. Lewis.[1]

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *November 12 1866.*

On returning home from Richmond I find letters from our correspondent at St. Louis, Mo. advising that an agent of your State has been there offering to sell your Agricultural Scrip at 40 cents an acre.

I can hardly believe it as it has a direct tendency to injure you and us and all others dealing largely in it. A few pieces sold at this rate will prevent your selling the balance at any reasonable price.

We deal largely in this Scrip having purchased the large states of Pennsylvania Ohio and Kentucky. If you desire to sell all your Scrip please advise me your price for *the whole of it.* At all events do not [*glut?*] the market by peddling on 1 or 200 pieces.

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[1] G. F. Lewis was a land warrant broker of Cleveland, Ohio.

From D. F. Caldwell.

GREENSBORO, *Nov. 14th 1866.*

Railroad matters.

You must pardon me for this hasty note. I have long been desirous to write you an article on state affairs, but have not been able to get all the *data* I desired, and have postponed, until I find it is now too late to effect anything. This much for my troubling you—If there is one man in the state, who does earnestly desire to see you signalize your administration by doing something for the lasting benefit of ones people and state I am that man. I am sure the way is open and I believe you have the will and popularity. I see that all the enterprising portion of our population in this part of the state will soon leave us if something is not done to give our people hope. Over one thousand have gone and still this frightful exodus continues. I feel touchy over conditions for I already see the beginning of the end if something is not done to give laboring men in this section of the state hope in the future if they remain among us.

Now as to what I think ought to be done—the F. & W. R. R. ought to be extended up Deep River to this place as speedy as possible and if the state does nothing more it should do all the late committee asked. 2. The county courts must be authorized to lay off all the counties in small townships and give the people the power to elect road school and agricultural commissioners with a constable for each whose duty it should be to take charge of the roads schools and Agricultural interests in each and in the city, etc., etc.

Then we must have some sort of a currency—I had and still have faith in the scheme I proposed—but I will not again press it upon your attention. There is another plan that will work like a charm but will require some time, which I call to your attention and all the savants in whom you may have confidence. It is this—let owners Railroads unite in asking the Legislature to so amend

their respective charters as to allow them the privilege of banking under the National Banking laws for a *limited time* if they fear a great *mynopoly*. If their prayer is answered then let them repair to Washington City and try and get Congress to pass a law authorizing the Postmaster General or some one else to enter into a contract with owners of Railroads for some 15 or, 20 years to come to carry the U. S. mail for a certain and stipulated price per mile per annum. And then let the Government of the U. S. issue to these roads bonds of the Government to the amount that the mail pay received will pay the interest on. These bonds may be redeemed by the Government and as additional security the roads may give the state a lien on all their property to redeem them on their circulation. This would soon give us a currency strengthen the roads and enable them to encourage our manufactures milers farmers and mechanics.—by making them loans on land and produce. It would enable all our R.Roads to husband and avail themselves of the incomes and deposits that might be made and bank on them to profit Nationally so it would enable them to unite our Roads and cause them to put forth all their efforts to send our trade, travel and produce over our own roads to our own towns and markets. It would cause all our Railroads accounts and especially these monied transactions to be kept in an honest and intelligent manner. There would be no more defaulters or unsettled accounts. This of itself would be worth thousands annually to the state and more to the road. Again it would soon give new life to internal improvements within our borders. Then I hope to see what I declared ten years ago should be done the N. C. Rail Road extended to Paint Rock and also to Cleveland on our extreme western border there to connect with the R.Road to Memphis. When we look at the amount N York has expended on the Roads and Canals to connect with the West What Baltimore has expended on her roads for the same purposes and what Virginia has, and now proposes to

spend upon her canall and Road from Newport News, to the Ohio and contrast the annuity expended and yet required to effect these great lines and then contrast them any one of them, with the sum required to extend our road as proposed we will be astonished that we have so miserably laged in this race. Our Route is the most direct and far the best and cheapest—to the Mississippi and equally so to Cincinnati and St. Louis—And via Arkansas and Texas a far Superior and nearer route to St. Francisco California and when N. C. completes the N. C. Rail Road as I have proposed Then the results will come in like sheaves af grain from a well reaped harvest field. Every effort ought to be made to accomplish forthwith this great work, if the state *values it*, and dedicate it and all its revenues to the cause of *education*—but I would not have you to recommend the state to embark another dollar in this or any other scheme of the kind when the individual stockholders had not the full power & control of the road and its management. This is a *sine qua non*. It is not only essential to life that the banks I have proposed should be got under way, but it is equally essential that the *old usury* laws should be *reenacted*. Also to prevent any private creditor from being swindled out of all he has it is important that a deed or trust law should be passed requiring all who make *trusts* take in all the creditors and give up all their property and allow the trusts to stand for four years by paying a certain portion of the principal and interest anually and if the extent proves that the party is insolvent then let them pay in proportion to their ability giving all the creditors the right to bid and pay in his claims for the property. A company should be chartered whose duty it should be to devise ways and means to dispose of the swamp lands as soon as possible, etc. etc. Now don't think me officious in thus troubling you. I am not. I only desire above all things to see N. C. redeemed the peace restored and Jonathan Worth a native son of old Guilford *propose more* to the Legislature and be the in-

strument under God of having more done for our people than any that has gone before him. And these are some of the practical measures that I think ought to be recommended and proposed upon the consideration of the next Legislature. And having been so long acquainted with you formerly I have ventured to believe that I am as near Governor in Jonathan Worth as I shall ever be, of N C. Therefore feeling that our location raising and habits have been so nearly similar I could but feel anxious as I have before told you to see you get out of the *old fogy track* and I have therefore suffered my zeal for your success to push me out of the line of my duty and made me appear offisious I hope not however, and if I have I crave your pardon. I hope you will consult with all the R R Presidents, Treasurer Wm. Mordecai Jones Dunn and others on my financial notions, and that all of them will concur with me, etc. Stafford our Sherriff out on 22,000 tax due has not been able to collect more than 2000. He has put out all the rest for collection and many are running off.

From William Clark.

Economy Wayn Co., Ia. *11th mo. 18th, 1866.*

Questions and personal matters.

I have been waiting thinking thee would write to some of us but all in vain. I have heard or discovered from the papers that thee is again elected Governor of the state but cannot learn exactly to my satisfaction whether thee had really any opposition. I learned General Dockery was brought out by the Union party of that state and declined to run, and yet I see several counties voted for him and I see from the papers that our old county of Randolph gave him a majority though the voters seems to be small compared with former elections. I have not seen who were elected from Randolph and Guilford. What is likely to be the complexion of your next Legislature? From the ap-

pearance thus far none of the southern states, at any rate with few exceptions, seem like adopting the amendment to the Constitution as proposed by Congress. I want thee to send me the best reasoning by newspapers, publick speeches, or otherwise from your southern Politicians. If there is any injustice to the South in that I want to see it. We hear but one side argued here and of course may be misled still I thought I could judge impartially and without prejudice. If I am wrong I would like to know it.

We have had quite a gloomy time for the last few days. Our Brother-in-law B. Coffin has failed for a large amount and caused several of his friends to suffer severely, among others is his brother-in-law Wm. B. Hinshaw and son-in-law D. B. Robbins who have had to make assignments of all their property and our brother-in-law N. Dennis has suffered some $3,000. by him though he can live well enough without it and it may be that Barney may recover so as to pay part or all of it some time. I have nearly escaped as far as appears thus far. We rather disagreed some two years in regard to carrying on our business and when he went to the capital of our state we closed up all our copartnership and have got it wount up except a small amount of debt against us and about as much coming to us, so there has been no time in 10 years that I could have escaped so well so that I look upon my case as a very fortunate one. The newspapers set his liabilities at nearly one hundred thousand dollars above his assets, but I think that not likely to be so, though since he left here he has been largely in Pork and Beef packing and running a large cotton farm near Montgomery, Alabama, on which he works about 100 hands.

Send me a paper or something that will post me up occasionally on the affairs of my old state, how is the political sentiment in your state in regard to the imigration that is now flowing in this direction. We think there is more this fall than has been for many years. This Coffin who

is engaged in it has brought thousands and still they come but so far as I can discover but few of the better class are coming. Do the Banks at Raleigh sell exchange on N. Y. and if so at what rates of exchange. Barzillai sends us word that he and Mary expects to pay us a visit next spring. Kneed we ever look for one from any of the family? I would like thee would remember me by sending me a letter occasionally, notwithstanding thy many engagements.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH, *Nov. 20, 1866.*

Request for pardon.

Cannot the President be induced to pardon Owen R. Kenan? He was a member of the Confederate Congress, but there is no conceivable distinction, which places in an attitude less deserving of pardon, than Bridgers, Dortch, Venable, Arrington, Lander and McLean. If there be any reason for withholding the pardons of certain other members to-wit—Graham, Turner and Gaither, all of whom were strict Union men till war had actually commenced, after the pardoning of such men as Ashe, Leach, Ramsay and the other members of Congress I cannot conceive I am unable to conceive what that reason is. If you can, in any proper manner, get the President to direct his attention to the apparent discrimination against these men, I shall be greatly obliged to you.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH, *Nov. 20 1866.*

I would like to do something, in such shape as would be agreeable to you, by pecuniary reward or otherwise

making a proper acknowledgement that the State appreciates your services in procuring pardons, etc.

The matter of our land scrip is referred to the Genl Assembly for further action.

The offer and suggestions of Ex-Govr. Bibb will be submitted to the committee to which the matter will be referred.

I regard his suggestion as very good, and with my present light, favor employing him as our agent.

Washington, D. C.

From O. G. Parsley.

Wilmington, N. C. *Nov. 22nd 1866.*

Railroad matters.

Yours of the 20th inst. at hand. Until day before yesterday I did not know who would be the State proxy at our W. & W. R. R. meeting, but then learned from a conversation with Dr. Arrington that he held the appointment. I certainly have no personal objections to the appointment and do not know that others would have had or have, until from information from your letters and his actions at the meeting of the stockholders of the Wilmington & W. R. R. yesterday it seems very apparent that influences have operated which perhaps may not be altogether proper. The charters of both our roads provide that none but a stockholder shall act as proxy at the meeting and that no *officer* of the roads shall act as proxy. At the meeting of the W. & W. stockholders yesterday Dr. Arrington represented a large number of shares, the proxies of which had been it is alleged procured by Col. Fremont *an* officer of *that* road for the purpose of controlling the action of that meeting. By the recommendation of Col. Fremont and Mr. Drane, each an officer of the respective roads, he is made the State proxy at the Manchester meeting on the 28th, although he owns *no* stock in

the corporation. The object of the charters to prevent *officers* from controlling the action of the meeting may in this way be entirely defeated. The State cooperating with the officers of either road can defeat the individual stockholders—appoint whom they please and make the salaries of the President and superintendents and some of the other officers, what they please. Do you think such influence proper?

I do not know that there will be any opposition to Mr. Drane for the Presidency of the Manchester Co. I hardly think there will be—I do not know that the complaints and dissatisfaction of which I spoke in my last letter are sufficient to make a change desirable. I am by no means satisfied that Mr. Drane is not the best man we can get for the position. But I am well assured that the State proxy appointed on *his* and Col. Fremont's recommendation will if *they* wish it vote for him although a majority of the individual stock might prefer another. My desire is that he who represents the State may go into the meeting unpledged and *unbiassed* and that the individual stock may not be controlled by the influence of the officials of the Railroad, terminating here the State cooperation.

The State proxies, until within the past two years, have been accustomed to consult and I think respect the wishes of a majority of the individual share holders. Since; rather to rule *them to their own choice.* I hope the Dr. may act in such manner as may not give cause for complaint at his appointment.

From Robert B. Gilliam.[1]

, OXFORD, *Nov 22nd 1866.*

Objections to a Court of Oyer and Terminer.

I understand an application has been made to you to order a Court of Oyer and Terminer to be held for this county—the object being to have sentence pronounced upon a culprit heretofore convicted of a capital felony, who broke jail before the day appointed for his execution—and has been since arrested. If such be the object of the application, I beg leave to suggest that it cannot be accomplished in the way proposed. The act to authorize courts of Oyer and Terminer provides that they shall have jurisdiction "by a grand jury to inquire, and by a petit jury to *hear and determine* all felonies, etc.," "and all such cases whereof jurisdiction is hereby conferred pending for trial in the Superior Court of any County, shall be deemed in the Court of Oyer and Terminer held for that county, etc."

I see no very urgent reason for anticipating the usual term of the Superior Court, even if there was no legal difficulty in the way, but however that may be, it seems to me very clear that a Judge holding a Court of Oyer and Terminer would not be authorized to award sentence of death upon a prisoner situated like the one in this county.

I take the liberty of mentioning the matter, because it occurred to me, you might probably, if the court was ordered, appoint me to hold it and I thought it best to advise you of my views beforehand.

And even if the Court of Oyer and Terminer should be applied for in this county for purposes strictly within the act, I have to request as a special favor that some other

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[1] Robert B. Gilliam, of Granville county, had been a member of the convention of 1835. He had later been many times a member of the legislature, and in 1862 was Speaker of the House. In 1863 he was elected to the Superior Court bench and remained there until 1868. He was elected to Congress in 1870 and died before taking his seat.

person than myself may be appointed to hold it—Fourteen weeks of incessant labor have tried my constitution pretty severely, and I wish if possible to enjoy perfect rest both of body and mind until the coming spring. Should a Court be thought necessary here, I have no doubt Judge Fowle or Judge Barnes would consent to hold it.

From B. S. Hedrick.

Washington, D. C. *Nov. 22, 1866.*

Inclosed is a letter from Gov. Bibb. I have not time to write more now. Your letter of the 20th relating to "pardons" is "imperfect," only one page being sent, probably by mistake in mailing. I have not yet seen your message, except a brief abstract in the city paper of today.

I saw the Attorney General today in relation to pardons and he has promised to take up and report soon on some of the names you mention. I cannot find an application in full for Willis Whitaker of Wake. There is a petition of Wesley Whitaker, Jr., of Wake, suspended by Holden.

Will write again soon.

To James L. Orr.

Nov. 27th 1866.

I am requested by a member of our Genl Assembly to ask you for a copy of such laws and ordinances as have been passed in your State since May 1865—I mean such as have been printed in pamphlet form.

May I ask whether your Courts are yielding obedience to Genl Sickle's orders of Oct. 1 1866? I propose to appeal to the Prest. of the U. S. The military Commandant has very recently sent me a copy of this order, specially calling my attention to the 5th and 6th paragraphs.

Columbia, S. C.

To Edwin G. Reade.

Dec. 5 1866.

Plans of the opposition.

I am satisfied that Mr. Logan is now in Washington City as the delegate of a caucus held a few evenings ago at Gov. Holden's, for the purpose of aiding in overthrowing the present civil govt. of the State. This influence ought to be counteracted. I have no official power, but think you could possibly do much good if you would consent to go to Washington. Will you go? If so I will ask Judge Pearson and any third person you may name to go also.

RALEIGH.

From Edwin G. Reade.

RALEIGH *Dec. 5/66.*

I have (11:00 o'clock P. M.) now your letter of today requesting me to go to Washington with Judge Pearson and another. I regret that I am obliged to leave the city in the morning. I have requested Judge Merrimon to see you and talk with you freely about it. I have only time to say in this note that if there is anything which I can do, or which prudent men think I can do to save the State of course I am ready to do it at whatsoever peril or cost. I exceedingly doubt whether anything can be done. Further than this Judge Merrimon is possessed fully with my views. I shall be pleased to hear from you again.

To James L. Orr.

Dec. 13 1866.

I propose to leave here tomorrow to see the President in relation to Sickles' order of 1 Octr. and earnestly invite you to join me there—at the Ebbitt House. Will you go?

COLUMBIA, S. C.

W. H. Bagley to D. F. Caldwell.

December 18th 1866.

Gov. Worth is absent and I have no authority to designate an agent to represent the State in the investigation of the Davis Burglary case by Col. Cogswell. Col. Bumford invites us to have an agent to act with Col. C. and make the investigation *a joint* one. I hope, in the absence of Govr. Worth, that you, or Genl. Gilmer will act for the State upon this suggestion of mine. If you cannot please see Genl Gilmer in regard to it. I have written also to him.

GREENSBORO.

To Nathaniel Boyden.

December 29, 1866.

Expenses of the Washington mission.

At as early a day as may be convenient to you let me know the expenses of yr mission to Washington. The Genl A. has authorised the payment of the same and having paid from my own purse the expenses of myself and the other two Comrs and made an advance of a small part of yours I desire to adjust and draw for it.

I am also anxious to have your report of what you may have learned and yr general views as to the feelings of Congress.

Yr appointment on the commission gave universal satisfaction.

To Nathaniel Boyden.

Jan. 1 1867.

Your very satisfactory letter giving me a narrative of your proceedings after I left you in Washington is received, and I herewith inclose $10. the balance due you for expenses of this trip.

I think our National affairs are assuming a more healthy tone.

Salisbury.

To Peter Adams.

Jan. 2 1867.

Personnel of commission to Washington.

I have nominated on the Comn to Washington A. S. Merrimon, J. M. Leach, J. A. Gilmer, Bedford Brown and P. H. Winston.

There is no one on the Comn. better fitted for it than our friend Gilmer—but I should not have appointed him but for your letter urging it, because from the information I have had as to his health, I had supposed that quiet was essential to his complete restoration. See him and assure him that I would not have him go if he thinks he would thereby endanger his health.

Greensboro.

To William A. Graham.

Raleigh, *Jan. 3/67.*

Meeting of Council of State.

I call my council next week to appoint a board of Internal Improvement, Literary Board, etc., and especially to ask their view as to the course proper to be pursued by me in the contingency that Congress declare the present State government a nullity. My notion for meeting such a contingency is to decline to surrender voluntarily to a governor appointed by Congress or elected by others than voters entitled to this franchise under our Constitution—and if imprisoned for disobedience, to apply by *Habeas Corpus* to a Judge of the Supreme Court of the U. S. for enlargement—and thus endeavor to sustain our State Govt. by the action of the Supreme Court of the U. S. I will be glad to have your views on this.

I may be called upon to act when I cannot consult my council or others in whose judgment I confide.

I deem the matter as to our swamp lands important, and want an able Literary board. It consists of three members. Mr. Mendenhall (to my relief) has resigned. Stephen D. Pool, whom I did not know well when I appointed him last year has removed to Newbern and does not suit me. Maj. Husted of this City, I will continue on my board. If you and Gov. Bragg will consent to serve, I would be glad to make you members of the board. Would the appointments have any semblance of incompatability with your position as Senator? Should you be admitted to a seat in Congress you could resign. If you decline to accept, can you suggest two good names?

I write at home.

To Samuel A. Harris.

Raleigh, *Jan. 3 1867.*

Yours of the 5th inst is just received.

I lately sent by mail to the Chm. of each Warden Court in the State a copy of the act of our Genl A. touching the subject of your letter. When answers to the letters shall be received they will be submitted to the Chief Assistant of the Freedman's Bureau. Until this is done I can give no precise information as to the extent of relief to be expected from this quarter.

If the Chairman has not received my letter, please let me know.

Charlotte.

To E. J. Warren.[1]

Jan. 3rd 1867.

At the time the application was made to me by a very large number of the citizens of Pasquotank, endorsed by Dr. Speed, John Pool and others I was informed that you were absent from the State. I declined to act until you or the Solicitor from your Circuit should be heard from on the subject. A few days thereafter, I received a letter from Mr. Eure recommending the pardon, which I thereupon granted. Some days after the issue of the pardon, your letter on the subject came to my hands.

I deem this explanation due to you, as I have in no case granted a pardon, where it was known to me that the judge who tried the case, deemed the exercise of clemency inexpedient. If your letter had been received in time it would have received due consideration.

WASHINGTON.

To Miss M. A. Buie.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 3 1867.*

Your late letter and inclosures explanatory of your plan for getting up a school or schools on a large scale for the education of orphan females whose fathers died in the service of the Southern States in the late war, was duly received. How fervently do I wish you success—and you may rely on my co-operation.

You ask me to nominate some suitable persons as Treasurers. I suggest Geo. W. Mordecai, of this city, Wm. A. Wright, of Wilmington, Philip A. Wiley, of Fayetteville, Jno. D. Whitford, Newbern, Jesse H. Lindsay, Greens-

[1] Edward J. Warren, of Beaufort county, had been several times a member of the legislature, and was a member of the conventions of 1861 and 1865. Governor Worth appointed him a Superior Court Judge in 1865. He was President of the Senate in 1871. He was a Whig before the war and became a Democrat afterwards.

boro, D. A. Davis, Salisbury, J. G. Lash, Salem, R. F. Simonton, Statesville, T. W. Dewey, Charlotte, Genl. Robert Vance, Asheville.

If other names, in other localities, be desired, I will designate them if requested.

May you be successful in this the noblest charity in the line of benevolence to which you have devoted your life.

To Duncan, Navaro & Co.

Jan. 3 1867.

Yours of the 28th inst. is received, asking my co-operation in a gift enterprise for the benefit of destitute Southerners. There are many here greatly needing and deserving the charity of the benevolent. I know little as to gift enterprises and do not know in what way I am to co-operate, but the object is one in which you can have my hearty help in any proper way in which I can give it.

NEW YORK CITY.

To L. W. Gilbert.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 4 1867.*

Your letter and accompanying bill for charter for the American Industrial Association of North Carolina is received. It strikes me that your designs may benefit the State.

Under the Constitution and laws of the State a private law cannot be passed until 30 days notice of the application shall be given. The Genl Assembly will convene on the 28th inst. I have had a notice prepared and send it to the *Sentinel* news-paper published here for insertion and have directed the editors to send their account to you, for the payment of which I have made myself responsible.

My time, in the strange condition of our Federal relations, etc. is so engrossed that I fear I may not be able to give your business the attention necessary to insure the passage of your bill, and I recommend that you address Thadeus J. Bryson, at this place, asking him to call on me for the bill. He is a member of the House from Jackson County and I think will take an interest in getting your bill passed. Wishing you success,

NEW YORK CITY.

To Rev. Robert Newmann.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 4 1867.*

Yours of the 17th inst. has not been answered sooner because other duties have engrossed my attention.

Climate and Resources of North Carolina.

The climate and resources of this State are most inviting—and our impoverished condition makes immigration most desirable to us—but the groundless suspicions continually kept up against us by the dominant power in Congress, and the uncertainty as to the future action of our Conquerors, dispirit our people. Until the revolutionary schemes of Congress shall be abandoned and apprehension of cruel domination cease, we can do little.

We know little as to the best plan of inducing immigration and cannot hope that many immigrants will settle among us while we are held as a conquered province—and every way reviled by our conquerors. I shall most earnestly co-operate in any scheme of encouraging immigration whenever the action of Congress shall be such as to leave us any ground to hope that such scheme will be successful.

Our Genl. Assembly, which has taken a recess till the last of this month, has the subject of encouraging immigration under consideration. If you can suggest any specific thing we may do, which you think would bring immi-

grants to this State, I will lay such suggestions before the committee having charge of this subject.

NEW YORK CITY.

To Rev. Robert Newmann.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 4 1867.*

Offering for sale a tract of land.

During the late war myself and my son D. G. Worth of Wilmington, and my brother-in-law N. G. Daniel of Wilmington as a counteract of our depreciating currency purchased a very valuable tract of land in Horry District, S. C., containing about 3,500 acres. I own half and each of them one-fourth. They are merchants in Wilmington and my attention is directed to home affairs. We would like to sell it.

The tract consists of about 600 acres, originally swamp, of exceeding fertility. A principal canal has been cut so large that the swamp is never inundated. Some 150 acres were brought into cultivation years ago and other residue, without important expense, might be cleared and cultivated. The portion of it not reclaimed has much valuable timber, White oak, Poplar, Juniper—the whole of it capable of producing the most luxuriant crops of cotton, corn, etc. which any land will yield.

The original proprietor, a Scotchman, who died without heir in this country, made a large fortune on it, by the cultivation of cotton, and laid out, by tasteful and judicious ditching, the portion which he brought into cultivation, but the proprietors since have neglected the ditches and it would require a small outlay of labor to put it in productive condition.

The remainder of the land—say 2700 acres is covered by a first forest of long-leaf pine, most of which has been boxed for turpentine and worked about four feet high.

The buildings on the place are not valuable, but capable of furnishing comfortable shelter to a few families.

The place is about 7 miles distant from flat [*Two words illegible*] with excellent road to the place of shipment. The outlet to the ocean is by way of Georgetown.

The place is capable of a large operation in timber, stores and lumber besides the culture of cotton and corn, so that many laborers could be profitably employed on it at once.

We would sell this tract at $3.00 per acre, gold, one third down, and a credit of any reasonable time for the residue, secured by retaining title until the purchase money should be paid, and interest at 7 per cent paid annually.

If you can effect a sale for us, we will allow you 5 per cent and it to be paid as fast as we receive the purchase money.

If this description shall awaken your attention, any agent you may send to examine the land will receive every facility from Worth & Daniel of Wilmington, who have a map of the premises, and one of whom, if desired, would accompany such agent.

The growth of cotton and the production of the pine, offer the most inviting field for profits, and the operations could be put in action on this place at once.

To C. B. Dibble.

Jan. 5 1867.

Contradiction of false reports.

Attribute my neglect to answer yours of the 20th ult. to domestic grief and the pressure of public engagements.

Myself and associates, when at Washington, did what we could to remove the impressions prejudicial to this State.

The people of North Carolina were never more loyal to the Constitution of the United States and never more obedient to National authority.

The allegation so often repeated, that Union men and negroes cannot have justice in our Courts is without color of truth, but a small class of base men wrong us, to curry favor with the dominant party in Congress, over anonymous signatures, are indefatigable in supplying the *Chronicle* and kindred papers with new falsehood for nearly every issue,—and as the papers which publish these lies don't want truth to overtake them, they never publish a contradiction. This keeps up ill will towards us among the masses.

I do not believe members of Congress are misled by these lies. They have too many facilities to ascertain the truth—but many, I fear, are willing their constituents shall continue to believe we are monsters. Nearly all of them deem the continued ascendency of the present dominant power the magnum bonum and the deem the continued exclusion of the South from Congress—and the disfranchisement of the great body of our people and right of suffrage to the lately emancipated slaves essential to preservation of their party power. The idea of winning our confidence by allowing us our constitutional rights and attaching us to them by magnanimous confidence, they will not entertain. They rely on force only, and unconstitutional schemes of regulating suffrage among us, now that no State South will voluntarily assent to ratify an amendment proposed in a Congress from which we were excluded and with features revolting to a people retaining any self respect.

I inclose to you a copy of late inaugural.

In a few days we will have in Washington a few of our ablest men whose character as Union men is far better than that of a few miserable sycophants among us who first stirred up Sectionalism and now meanly claim to be the only people among us deserving Northern confidence.

NEW YORK CITY.

To F. B. Satterthwaite.[1]

Jan. 5th 1867.

Relating to a petition for pardon.

In the case of J. J. Perkins' petition for pardon, the consideration of which has been deferred, because it did not appear to be absolutely necessary to decide it at present, and because of duties public and domestic, have not given me time for the careful consideration of the case. I am struck by the omission to give any account of the transaction. The case as presented seems to rest for my action simply on the universal wish of the local community that clemency be extended, while the facts attending the commission of the offence are not set forth. When a judge in an Assault and Battery case imposes a fine of $500. and six months imprisonment, I think that proper respect to the Judiciary, compels me to assume there must have been some heinous criminality in the transaction, and when I am asked to pardon, and the history of the transaction is entirely suppressed, I doubt the propriety of yielding to the request, though backed by the entire local community. Is it not due to the Judge to assume that his judgment rested on truer grounds than the passions and sympathies of the community?

I infer from some of the papers that the transaction sprung from some family feud between Perkins and Clark and that a pardon of Perkins would tend to compose this feud. I do not find in the papers any assurance that such would be the result.

I have before me nothing from the judge—And the endorsement of the Att. Genl. not recommending the pardon, but postponement of the imprisonment of Perkins to the indefinite time when Clark shall be tried presents to my mind an embarrassing question as to my power so to act.

As it is some weeks yet before the imprisonment would

[1] Fenner B. Satterthwaite, of Pitt county, had been a member of the legislature and of the conventions of 1861 and 1865.

commence I defer action till I shall hear from Judge Merrimon, or until I shall be made more fully cognizent of the facts. I will not allow the beneficent power of clemency vested in the Executive, to cripple the power of the judiciary to repress crime. The worthy names pressing the pardon of Perkins entitle his application, accompanied as they are by facts, to the most respectful consideration, and I regret that my necessary absence in the public service prevented your seeing me on the subject. On this as well as other matters of public concern, I would be glad to have a personal interview with you.

WILMINGTON.

To A. C. Cowles.

Jan. 5th 1867.

I some time ago ordered a bbl of whiskey from my friend N. Williams. His agent (he being from home at the time) sent me a bbl containing 37 gals. at $5._____ $185.00 requesting remittance by express. The amount oversized my purse. I sent $100. and owe $85. Will you do me the favor to pay him the $85. and let me hand it to you when you come down to the Genl. Assembly?

At this rate a poor Govr. who keep a quantity of meat and bread and fuel must treat himself and friends on short allowance of whiskey.

YADKINVILLE.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Jan 5th 1867.

Thos. Futrel of Randolph County, a deputy marshal, took the census of 1860. He died in 1861, I believe. He took no part in the war. His widow Julia Ann Futrel, in deplorable indigent circumstances, writes me there is

a bal. of $184. due her husband for this service. Whether claims of this sort to Southern deputy marshals are paid under any circumstances and if so, the measures necessary to be taken, I know not. Please send this note to some claim agent—and if he shall think any thing can be made of it and he will write me I will put him in communication with Mrs. Futrel.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To D. L. Swain.

Jan. 5 1867.

Your kind letter of condolence was received. I cannot as yet recover from the afflicting shock. My lovely and beloved daughter whose life was so free from guile that I cannot remember even to have had occasion to rebuke her, is continually present to my mind, and so enervates me that I can scarcely perform my duties, now so numerous and diversified that I should scarcely be equal to their performance under other circumstances.

You will have seen that I nominated A. S. Merrimon, Jno. A. Gilmer, P. H. Winston, Bedford Brown and J. M. Leach to go to Washington under the resolution you drew up, one of the chief objects of the mission (the only specified object) being to get relief from the land tax. None of them have given this subject any thing like the consideration you have. I suggest that you communicate to them your views. Gilmer declines to serve on account of ill health. I have not nominated another to fill his place. Can you suggest a fit man to fill his place?

P. S. I inclose $10. which I believe is the sum due you on acct of expenses of our late trip to Washington.

CHAPEL HILL.

To W. F. Leak.

Jan. 5 1867.

Your late letter is received. The duties of my position, enormously burdensome on account of our anomalous condition make it impossible for me to answer at all—much less at any length, the many kind letters received from sources—as in the case of yours—where if it were possible, I would like to go fully into the subject. Political conditions.

The most alarming feature of our affairs at present, is the effort of Holden and his followers to ride into power by the disfranchisement of the great body of our white men and the universal enfranchisement of the negroes. The negroes are carried away with this prospect. It is greatly to be feared that he will engender malevolence towards the whites in the minds of the simpler race.

Congress is not deluded to the extent you suppose as to the disposition of the South. The grand object is the retention of power over us, and the stories as to our loyalty are matured and encouraged to justify their revolutionary measures in the minds of the great masses of their people.

Anything our leading Secessionists would swear would be treated as real perjury. Representations by such of our people as went into the rebellion not by choice, but by force of surrounding circumstances, made to the moderate Republicans, is much more likely to be efficacious. I have appointed Bedford Brown, Jno. A. Gilmer, Judge Merrimon, Genl. Leach and P. H. Winston to go to Washington to do what they can and make to us such suggestions founded on what they may learn, as they may deem suited to our condition.

I am clear that we assent to no pretended compromise by way of amendment to the Constitution—proposed by a fraction of a Constitutional Congress, but that we place our reliance on the judicial and Executive departments of the Govt. and if they fail manfully bide under fate as mere force, which we are impotent to resist, may impose.

I have not only hope, but confidence that the action of the Supreme Court sustained by the Prest. will shield us from all the proposed schemes of reorganising our State government, or changing our State Constitution, if our people remain firm in asserting our rights. If the South become panic stricken and lose sight of their rights and dignity, the National Government, losing sight of the Constitution, will soon become chaotic and degenerate into a great mob, ruled only by the will of the hour.

Any further concessions will but invite further encroachments—and instead of protecting us, will result in the total overthrow of Constitutional liberty.

Besides my public cares which oppress me, I am enervated, almost prostrated by a late grievous domestic calamity.

Rockingham.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Jan. 5 1867.

A gentleman of the bar of this State has sent me the inclosed argument with the request that I will submit it to some gentleman of learning who has considered the subject and return it to him with such remarks on the same as such person may be willing to make.

Having heard when in Washington City that [*sic*] Judge Sharkey in what way the expression of the Supreme Court could be obtained on the subject discussed, I ask the favor of you to submit the argument to his examination, if he be in yr city, with request that he examine and return to me with any remarks he may be willing to make on it.

Washington. D. C.

To M. C. Johnson.

Jan. 5th 1867.

In opposition to the Howard amendment.

Yours of the 29th ult. and the newspaper referred to by you recd. I have read your article "The political future of the South," with profound pain. In my opinion no calamity which power can inflict on us can equal that likely to result from voluntary ratification of the Howard amendment. And I think we cannot expect honorable performance of any terms of compromise unconstitutionally proposed and accepted without apprehension of more grievous oppression.

I do not deem it *politic* under any circumstances, for a people or a man to accept terms of settling a controversy whereby, such people or man would forfeit self-esteem. I think the State will be protected under our present Constitution, by the action of the Judiciary and the Executive. If Revolution has gained a head by which the present Constitution is to be trodden down, and I can see no security against its rage, by the concessions you propose. The dominant power, when we voluntarily yield to degrading terms, will naturally lose *all respect* for us.

I am for relying on the Judiciary: and if that fail us, manfully biding the fate physical power may impose. I have never been a Secessionist.

LEXINGTON, KY.

To Thomas Ruffin.[1]

Jan. 7 1867.

Asking advice.

A citizen of this State who desires me not to furnish his name, has sent me the inclosed argument, with the request that I submit it to some eminent constitutional law-

[1] Thomas Ruffin, of Alamance and Orange, the most distinguished jurist of the State, for many years Chief Justice. He had been a member of the Peace Conference of 1861, and while there was convinced of the necessity of war.

yers and return it to him with their views as to the soundness of his argument and conclusions.

Will you examine it and if you deem it expedient, submit it to Gov. Graham and let me know your views thereon.

The terrible domestic calamity which I apprehended when I saw you, almost disqualifies me to discharge my public duties.

I grow stronger in my faith that we shall find in the most conservative feature of our government, the Judiciary, a shield against the most Revolutionary plan of Congress, and just now feel more solicitude for domestic quiet, than I do as to the Congressional plan of Territorialising the State. Holden having lost the confidence of the white race, by associating with our external foes, to engender animosity between the whites and blacks and to get into power through the agency of the poor ignorant negro. He has made much impression on them hereabouts and through the agency of secret lawyers, I fear will deceive the masses of them as leaders often deceive and mislead the more intelligent whites.

HILLSBORO.

To William A. Graham.

Jan. 7 1867.

On our visit to Washington lately I found Senators Sharkey, Parsons and Marvin there. Would it not be well for you to go on and spend a week or two longer there?

You will have seen my nominations a few days ago, under the resolution authorising me to send a Commission and pay their expenses. Mr. Gilmer declines to go on account of ill health. I will place you on the Commission if you will accept.

Or you may go on at once without further communication or at any time within the next week or two.

HILLSBORO.

To John A. Gilmer.

Jan. 7 1867.

I much regret that your health would not warrant the acceptance of the mission to Washington.

I have had no response from any of the other parties nominated, save Genl. Leach who writes he would go.

When I went over to Randolph with you last Fall I called on Mr. Julian to pay for rail and Steam passage. He told me you had paid for us. I then called on you to refund when you threatened to knock me down if I named it. Not wishing to receive such rough use I said no more, but thought you were over generous. Now they have sent their bill to me here—for passage of myself and Steve and I paid it and as I much preferred to pay it, it is all right, if you didn't pay it also. If you did, make them refund. I have their recpt.

GREENSBORO.

To Lewis Hanes.

Jan. 8th 1867.

Appointment to Washington Mission.

Mr. Gilmer, whom I nominated as one of the commission to go to Washington under the late resolution of the Genl. A. declines to go on account of bad health. I have not heard whether Judge Merrimon or Mr. Winston, have gone or will go. Messrs. Leach and Brown are now in Washington. I hereby nominate you as one of the commission and request you to go on at the earliest day possible. Go to the Ebbitt House. I am authorized to refund your expenses. You are selected on account of your Union record. It may be of advantage for you to have along your speech in the Commons in 1864 or 1865. A State electing you and me certainly exhibits no strong Secession proclivities. I desire that you stay in Washington as long as you may think you can do any good for North Carolina.

[P. S.]—I write from home and cannot send you a copy of the resolution under which you are appointed. A copy was sent to Mr. Leach and Mr. Brown.

Salisbury.

To Bedford Brown & J. M. Leach.

Jan. 9th 1867.

The mails are probably obstructed whereby I have heard nothing from judge Merrimon or Mr. Winston. I have appointed Lewis Hanes in place of Mr. Gilmer, who declines to go on account of bad health.

I hope you will not be in a hurry to leave Washington. Stay as long as you may think your presence serviceable to the State.

It is not necessary that you act as a joint commission. If some have to leave very soon others might remain longer.

Washington, D. C.

To Bedford Brown & J. M. Leach.

Jan. 9th 1867.

Other commissioners not heard from. Proceed leisurely in your commission. Will write fully.

Washington, D. C.

To Nereus Mendenhall.

Jan. 10 1867.

You mentioned to me when I last saw you that you had a petition for the pardon of —— Davis, convicted and sentenced to be hanged by Guilford Supr. Court. I sup-

posed that petition was to be presented at a suitable time. Having heard nothing more from it, and the day of execution being near at hand, it has occurred to me it may have been entrusted to some person who has neglected to present it.

The facts which have been presented to me, make the impression that he is a criminal bent on evil; but being young and ignorant, I feel inclined to commute the sentence of hanging for a long period of hard labor in a penitentiary, should the Genl A. authorise such commutation.

A petition, asking me to respite him until it shall be ascertained whether such power of commutation shall be conferred on me, would probably receive a favorable response. As the facts now appear before me I shall certainly not pardon him.

NEW GARDEN.

To Bedford Brown and others.

January 12 1867.

Concerning Holden's speech in Raleigh.

Knowing that Gov. Swain had given to the matter of the tax on lands under the Act of Congress of 1862 much consideration and thinking that his reflections and researches might be of service to you I addressed him a letter on the subject—and herewith inclose his reply.

The late efforts of the North Carolina Radicals who derive all their notions and blindly follow their leader Mr. Holden, look to the disfranchisement of the great body of the whites and the enfranchisement of *all* the negroes, whereby the negroes would become the dominant political power in the State. Mr. Holden has thrown off his disguise—addresses the negroes in night assemblies—has printed and circulated among them for their signatures asking Congress to carry out this program—And in a speech made to them a night or two ago, as I learn from an intelligent negro who was present (no white men save

those less respectable than the negroes were present) that he told them North Carolina had made last year some 100,000 bales of cotton. He inquired whose labor made this cotton—who got the money, etc. The design is to make the negroes dis-satisfied with the whites by making them believe they are still in effect slaves, working for the whites. He succeeds in deceiving the credulous creatures—and winds up with the assurance that they are soon to be relieved—that in a short time their oppressors will be put out of power and the State government committed to their hands and a few benevolent white men like himself.

I do not know that the knowledge of these machinations can aid you in your mission—but I deem it proper that you be advised of this new phase in domestic affairs.

The white emissaries of Holden operate in getting signatures to these memorials through extensive secret organizations both among the white and colored population—Red Strings—loyal leagues, etc.—and by holding out to others, not attached to these organizations, that their only chance to save their lands from confiscation, is to sign these memorials. Even so intelligent a man as Junius Sanders, of Johnston, told me on yesterday that one of these memorials was presented to him and he was urged to sign it to save his lands.

I believe through these agencies a flood of petitions numerously signed by blacks, nearly en mass, and by many whites, will shortly find their way into Congress from this State, praying for the abolition of the present State Government and a re-organization according to the most ultra schemes of the revolutionary Disunionists who now lead the Congress.

Washington, D. C.

To George Howard.

Jan. 12 1867.

Request for information.

I am annoyed by an editorial in the Tarboro *Southerner* of the 10th inst. in which it stated that there *are organized* companies of malefactors in Pitt, Greene, etc.—that the militia, called out to suppress these organizations, have sustained defeat, etc. and acknowledging the impotency of the State authorities to arrest the disorder and a consequent call on the Federal authorities for help. Read the article. Nothing I have seen in any Radical Journal furnishes so much pabulum to those who would reduce us to a territorial condition. I have had no official notice of the existence of such organizations. I hear there are lurking robbers and murderers but I had not been informed that they had attempted to resist the execution of civil process, or that they had so banded that the militia could be of any service. The difficulty, as I understand it, consists in ascertaining the names of the guilty parties.

If your editor had acted wisely they would have informed me by letter, instead of furnishing the best of material to those who would destroy us.

If you can furnish me any information or make me any suggestion tending to enable me, even by stretch of Executive authority, to bring these malefactors to Justice, I will be greatly obliged to you.

TARBORO.

To W. T. Faircloth.

Jan. 12 1867.

Request for information as to conditions in the East.

The character of the State, at home and abroad, is being greatly damaged by the reports with which the local papers, Tarboro *Southerner,* Newbern *Commercial* etc are continually filled, as gross murders, robberies, etc. in Pitt, Greene, and other Counties in your Circuit. If there be any truth in these statements they require some

remedy. They are doing us incalculble mischief abroad, whether true or untrue. I am most painfully distressed by them. Can you suggest any thing which I can do in the premises? Can you not possess yourself of the needful information and devise some plan of bringing these malefactors to justice? Or get the editors to cease to furnish a handle to those who wish to disparage the civil government of the State. If the crimes are committed the effort should be to have the malefactors arrested and punished. These publications expose the State to obloquy and in no way tend to arrest the evil.

GOLDSBORO.

To W. F. Leak.

Jan. 13th 1867.

Outlining his views as to the attitude of the Radicals.

I perceive by yours of the 9th inst. that I must have expressed myself obscurely or inaccurately in reply to your first communication.

My idea is that members of Congress *know* that there is no real intention on the part of any considerable number of Southerners to offer further resistance to the gov. of the U. S. To prove to them by high-minded Southern Secessionists that no disloyalty now exists in the South, *which they already know,* will accomplish nothing. They are willing that the masses of their constituents shall labor under the impression that we are still disloyal. They are *unwilling* the masses shall be undeceived. The sole motive of their action is the retaining of party ascendency, but it is necessary to make the honest masses believe they are moved by *patriotic* motives. They will not hear evidence much less allow it to be published, tending to establish our willingness to obey the laws and constitution of the U. S. *They know* (I mean the members of Congress know) that we submit in good faith—but they don't intend their constituents shall know it. If we offer evi-

dence which Gov. Graham asked leave to offer a year ago, they will not hear it—or will suppress it. Their sole motive is the retention of political powers. We cannot reach the popular ear of the North through Congress. Dawson and other Southerners who mingle among them and make speeches and give direct explanations, produce effect.

ROCKINGHAM.

To Editors of the Wilmington Journal.

Jan. 13 1867.

Confidential.

Protesting against the publication of false reports.

I was pained to see republished in your Journal an article from the Tarboro *Southerner* of, the 10th inst. stating that "organised companies" of malefactors in Pitt, Greene, etc. existed—that the militia had been called out to sustain *"defeat"* and winding up by a humiliating acknowledgment of the impotency of the State authorities and an appeal to the Federal authorities to give protection.—Nothing I have seen, considering the source whence it emanates, furnishes such rich material to the Radicals. If banditti are rampant in N. C.—if her militia has sustained *"defeat"* from them—and the State is so impotent that it becomes necessary to appeal to U. S. to aid us in the execution of our criminal laws, the radicals have a pretty fair excuse for reducing us to a dependent territorial condition and endeavoring to control our municipal affairs.

But it is untrue.—Not an instance has occurred in the State where a Shff has had resistance within 18 months in any locality of the State to call on his posse to aid in executing process. The militia of the county has not sustained *"defeat"* by banditi and if they had, the Executive of the State should have been called upon, before a piteous appeal is made to Federal authority for help. The article in question will do us incalculable mischief. I pray you to

have more care of the publication of such strictly well-calculated (but not intended) to furnish pabulum for our enemies.

If crime is rampant in Pitt, Greene, and neighboring counties, it is the fault of the people and the local authorities to do their duty, and not the impotency of the State authority at large.

I can see no good end to be accomplished (but much mischief) by the publication of unpunished outrage with which the press of the State abounds.

If facts come to the possession of the editors of our Journals wherein there is apparent ground for suspicion that the Judiciary, the Executive, or any other State officer has neglected the performance of the duties imposed by law, the good of the State at present requires that such default should be well ascertained before an imputation is made tending to justify the abolition of the State government. Instead of news-paper articles such facts should be communicated to the State officials as would be likely to aid them in the performance of their duties. I beg you to consider these suggestions.

To C. C. Clark.

Jan. 13 1867.

Concerning false reports.

You will have perceived that the news-papers of your place, as well as the Tarboro *Southerner*, the Goldsboro *News* and others, are frequently publishing as matter of much import which reach them of flagrant outrages committed by unknown individuals or bands. A late number of the *Sentinel* asserts that these outrages are committed by "organised companies" in Pitt, Greene, etc. that the militia have made an effort to give relief and have sustained *"defeat,"* and the editors, acknowledging the impotency of the State authorities to protect the orderly, call on the *Federal authorities* for protection. I see this article

transferred to the Wilmington *Journal* and I suppose it will go the rounds of the State press. Now if there be any "organised" bands of malefactors, and the local authorities are too feeble to resist them (which I believe to be untrue) an appeal should have been made to the State Executive before furnishing food to the Radicals by an appeal to the Federal authorities for help. No such appeal has been made to me, because, as I suppose, there is no occasion for military aid. I fear the justices of the peace and other local officers in that part of the State are grossly negligent in pointing out and bring malefactors to Justice. I have heard of no difficulty any where in executing process. I see no recent notice in the *Commercial* of the exercise of Lynch law in Greene.

These publications in Southern papers, are greedily republished in the Radical Journals to the great detriment of the State. The Tarboro article is an acknowledgement of the impotency of the State government, founded on a false statement of facts; and an appeal to powers which are disparaging and oppressing us, to keep here a military force to protect the quiet citizen, whom the State authorities cannot or will not protect.

These publications are doing us incalculable mischief as you will readily see. What can I do in the premises? I perceive nothing that can be done only to exhort these editors not to allow their anxiety to furnish a news article to furnish pabulum to our enemies while there is no counter benefit to set off this mischief. If they would impress all the people that laws cannot protect them, if they are too cowardly or so remiss that they dare not or will not expose the names of the perpetrators of crime against them, they would exhibit sense and deserve well of the public. And if it be true, which I do not believe, that "organised" bandits prevent the local officers from discharging their duties, then an appeal for help, in a proper manner, not through the press, should be made to the Executive for aid before we are held up to the nation as un-

able to execute our laws and a humiliating appeal made to our oppressors for help.

I do not deem it fit that *I* make a direct appeal to these editors. The object of this letter is to ask you to use your influence with such of them as you may properly approach to discontinue a course so decided to us.

If there be any thing I can properly do, to aid in the execution of the laws, I need not assure you of my readiness to even stretch my powers to accomplish the object.

I shall be obliged to you for any suggestion you can make touching this subject—remarking that my present impressions are that the evil complained of is not want of power in the State nor counties—but the cowardice of the people wronged. In the language of Vance, "people who allow themselves to be pressed upon without resentment, cannot expect the laws to protect them."

New Bern.

To Lydia Maxwell.

Jan. 15 1867.

Defending the State and its people.

Yours of the 7th has just come to hand to-day. I was glad to receive it, but was sorry to gather from it that this the incident which lately took us to Washington, to wit, to protest against a military commander, abolishing our govt. by proclamation—, made us sink deeper—are you at variance with the opinion you had previously entertained that I had some pretensions to charity—and goodness of heart. You think every human man "North and South" would have approved Genl Sickle's law forbidding the infliction of corporal punishment—and as I disapprove it you do not disguise that in your estimation I do not belong in this class of men. Now I give you credit for candor in this declaration. *I* know no good men, North or South, save a few who have their minds so engrossed with the vice of slavery that all other crimes become venial

in their estimation, who disapprove of my action in this matter.

We have no Penitentiary. In my last message, a copy of which I will forward to you, I recommend the building of one. Until this shall be authorised by law and afterwards, a governor must see the laws of his State executed. The law of Moses, and of England, for some 1500 years past, have made whipping the punishment for certain crime. Our laws, since the first constitution of the State have made whipping the penalty for bigamy, larceny, etc. You say it is a relic of barbarism. See. 25 Chap. Deuteronomy, Matthew Chap. 5 v 17, Christ tells us that he did not come to destroy the law but to fulfill it. See Exodus, Chap. 27 v. 2—. Whipping was ordered by Moses. Some of his laws are not expressly abrogated by the laws of our Saviour are still in force. I have not been taught to regard Moses as a barbarian—nor our English ancestors for long centuries past, nor the people of your native State. I know it is quite the custom of many of our Northern friends to consider North Carolina as out of the pale of civilization and to call whipping for crime, notwithstanding it is traced to the Divine Lawgiver, as you call it a relic of barbarism—but *we* have not lost all self esteem and find no reason to blush at the statistics of crime in North Carolina as compared with the State where the people deem themselves so much wiser and so much more civilized than they deem us. These disparaging comparisons do not tend to the cordial restoration of kind feelings between the people of all sections of our country which all good men ought to cultivate. If you think we retain "a relic of barbarism" and we deem the horror you profess at whipping a rogue or bigamist, as sickly sentimentality—mutual charity should restrain us from harsh commentary upon each others' views.

I do not object however to putting such criminals in a penitentiary instead of whipping them—but I do object against a military officer being invested with power to an-

nul such of the civil laws of the state as *he* may deem unwise and my attempt to resist this arrogant assumption of power ought to elevate rather than lower me in the estimation of all good men—and with the certainty to which you refer that you and I must soon appear before the great judge, I have no apprehension of condemnation for this act of my life. I regard it as a merit.

I have never known an hour when I did not desire the preservation of the Union and the Constitution. Hence I abhorred Secession which sought to dissolve the Union—and hence I equally abhor Radicalism which treats the Union as actually dissolved, and undertakes to state to the States how they shall execute their Constitution and laws.

I was amazed at one who knows some thing of the condition of nine tenths of the freedmen to ask that all of them at once shall be placed on the same footing with the whites as to voting and holding office. I am willing some standard of intelligence or property shall be adopted by which the better class of them—and all of them as they reach such Standard—may have the privilege and I am willing to be taxed to help any of them remove to Indiana or elsewhere, where (I infer from your letter) they may expect equality with the whites—And I hope as much as I can hope for any thing in the face of all history and experience that you may succeed in making the negro the equal of the white man—I desire that they be educated—but as you have few negroes among you and you are rich—your land dotted over with school houses, the same liberal benevolence which makes you send young women and money here to educate the blacks, you must have educated young negresses among you. When you and I want a bed-fellow we prefer a white person to a negro, and on the same principle you ought to send your educated negresses here. When a white young woman comes here to take charge of a negro school, though she may be impelled by a high sense of religious duty, a suspicion among stran-

gers will arise that the impelling motive is the treasurer's money: and when a white young woman makes negroes her associates here as well as in Indiana, a suspicion arising from the adage, "birds of a feather flock together," excludes her from the company of well bred people, at least until a long course of good conduct extorts esteem.

The representation which I suppose you continually read and believe that Union men and negroes are maltreated and cannot have justice before our Courts are without color of truth. They are originated and propagated with the malicious purpose of keeping up hostility towards us. Our laws have been reformed so that no discrimination exists to the prejudice of the negro as to his rights to personal security and protection to his person and property and the law is as impartially administered in this State as it is in any of the United States, and this fact no respectable person here will deny. Special instances of cruel wrong occur here as they do every where. I ardently desire a restoration of the Union on the basis of mutual kindness, but I look for no such result while the North shall assume superiority in virtue and intelligence over us and assume to demand of us the enactment of laws and amendments of the Constitution which we deem pernicious to us and degrading to us.

I would not restore slavery if I could nor would one man in ten in this State: and nobody expects its restoration, but whenever I conclude the negro is entitled to political and social equality with me, I shall not feel humiliated when any of my kin shall inter-marry with negroes. The Caucasian race always has been and always will be superior to the negro race.

In conclusion let me say I have long endeavored in all my conduct public and private to act as nearly as possible according to the cardinal principles of the new testament—the chiefest of which I regard as Charity—and hence I do not allow myself to *think* ill,—much less to *speak* ill of others with whom I cannot agree as to principles of mor-

ality and religion,—and carrying out this doctrine I desire that the North and the South—that each State, as provided in the Constitution, shall make such laws as they deem proper, and not inconsistent with the Constitution of the U. S., without intermeddling with others.

I have made this letter much too long. I wish your letter had been confined as it began to a revival of old recollections and a sketch of our family conditions. It would have been most gratifying to know how many children you have, whether they are living near you and doing well—and to have heard something of Camden Thomas, Reuben, etc.

LIBERTY, UNION CO., IOWA.

To Nathaniel Boyden.

RALEIGH, N. C. *Jan. 18 1867.*

* * * * * * *

Relating to Holden's course.

My latest information as to Holden's operations among his new clients—the negroes—is that he is being less successful than he has usually been in deceiving the whites. *In* this city are a few negroes whom he formerly owned whom he sent off handcuffed to be sold from their wives living here. There statements here impair the confidence of the negroes in the professions of their new ally. *Out* of the city his paper has little circulation and the reports of his late servants travel nearly as fast as his new-born professions of zeal for the African race. At present the negroes seem to be exhibiting more sagacity than could have been expected.

I can make no suggestion as to the action of your Commission save only that you must be the judges how long some of you shall remain in Washington. *I* favor the *longest* period of stay which *your* judgment may approve.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To J. A. Engelhard.[1]

January 19th 1867.

Concerning false reports.

Yours of the 16th instant, in reply to mine touching the matter of the publication in the Tarboro *Southerner,* has been received, and it shows as I expected, that the publication, so far as the *Journal* was concerned, was an inadvertence.

I like your suggestion about writing to the Editors of the *Southerner,* and, in doing so, you are free to use my letter in the way which, in your judgment, it seems most likely to produce the effect desired—except that of publication.

I addressed a letter myself to the Editors of the *Southerner,* at the time I wrote to you, and have their response, which is anything but satisfactory. They give me the name of their informant, but with the chicken-hearted plea that I will *not use his name for fear of retaliation at the hands of this same "banditti".* They, in effect, assail the civil authorities for not arresting a set of thieves, the fear of whom drives them, in their timidity, to a constructive participation in their guilt, by concealment of the names of the perpetrators. In this state of things, I can do nothing, but despise their weakness:—and I will thank you to do what you can towards protecting our people at large against the damaging effects of the general circulation, through the press of the State, of such reports.

WILMINGTON.

To Thomas Ruffin, Sr.

Jan. 19 1867.

Our friend Eaton is not the author of the article, which at the instance of the writer of it, I submitted to your review. I am strictly enjoined not to give his name.

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[1] Editor of the Wilmington *Journal.*

I took the same view of the article which you do, but could not state so clearly as you have, the logic by which I reached my conclusions.

Hillsboro.

To A. W. Ingold.

January 19 1867.

False reports.

If our State government were so inefficient as it is represented to be in article from the Tarboro *Southerner,* republished in your last issue, there would be very plausible grounds for the re-construction project. I am almost disheartened by the continued pabulum our press is furnishing to our enemies. If we are such barbarians that *organised* banditti overcome—"defeat" our militia and the State authorities are so impotent or indifferent that our Southern Journals have piteously to implore Federal help, we have little cause of complaint, if the Radicals take charge of us. And it is not true that there are any organised bands of banditti—the militia has not been called out—much less sustained *"defeat."* I have not been called upon to aid the civil authority for the very good reason that no such aid is needed. No opposition is offered to the execution of civil process.

I know no other way to repress the publication and republication of these articles which do the State *more* mischief—*much more mischief*—than Holden and his followers can do us, but appeal to the editors of news-papers. I am persuaded this clipping found its way into your paper by oversight. I have addressed the *Southerner* and have their answer. They only state talk the foundation of their indiscreet editorial.

This must be regarded as a friendly and confidential communication. You can say if you choose that you learn from a reliable source all the facts I have stated, except my correspondence with the *Southerner.*

Greensboro.

To W. A. Hearne & William Biggs.[1]

Jan. 19 1867.

Yours of the 14th was received last night.

False reports.

I had no idea that you intended the mischief which I was sure would result from the late article. I knew you were warm friends of my administration and that you earnestly endeavored to sustain the State govt. I desired my own friendly manner to express my strong conviction that yr article and others of similar character, acknowledging the impotency of the State authorities to repress crime and therefore calling for Federal help as a mistake as to facts alone and not as prejudicial to the best interests of the State. As I expected, it is going the rounds of the papers, and wherever credited (and it will be greedily credited in the Radical States) it proves that our people are lawless, and our State authorities impotent or grossly remiss.

The facts as you state them in your letter of the 14th do not warrant your news-paper attitude, and turn out as they have turned out every where in the State where I have had any occasion to investigate. The militia were not called out and consequently did not sustain *"defeat."* You do not pretend that the Shff. cannot operate process or that your justices of the peace will not perform their duties—but your informant, from cowardice or other motive, neglects to call on the civil authorities to redress the wrong done to him by highway robbery. He *knows,* or *could find out* through the friendly *"officer"* who caused his mule to be restored to him, *who* robbed him—and instead of issuing a warrant for the robber, he furnishes the facts for a sensation news-paper article, disparaging the State, but is not willing his name shall be used to bring the malefactors to justice. As you give his name to me coupled with the request that *it shall not be used,* you place the gentleman in an unenviable attitude in my esti-

[1] Editors of the Tarboro *Southerner.*

mation. I consider you as having the right to impose conditions to your disclosure, and hence your wishes will be respected—but remember—*I have no respect* for your informant, notwithstanding your endorsement, in the position in which you leave him—as giving information disparaging to the government of his State and seeking to shelter his name from responsibility. No government can protect a people too cowardly to expose the names of those who maltreat them. This is the only trouble in the localities to which you and other journalists are continually referring. There is neither want of power nor of disposition in the civil authorities of the State to repress crime, but catching is before hanging, and a panic seems to possess the minds of the people in certain localities. If a thief steals a horse, the injured party is afraid to expose him lest his house should be burned. Civil government, or military government, would be equally impotent while this want of spirit is exhibited by the individual citizens wronged.

I do not understand by your letter whether Mr. Windham got his mule returned through an "*officer*" of the banditti or of the militia.

This hasty letter is *personal*—but intended to subserve a *public* purpose. You ought, as I think, to explain your editorial, which has given rise to it.

Tarboro.

To W. L. Springs.

Raleigh, *Jan. 22/67.*

Opinions as to attitude of North and South.

Owing to the snow or other causes, your letter of the 17th did not reach me till to-day.

I find difficulty in answering your inquiry. [*Here follow about two pages which cannot be read.*]

The North says we don't believe you and you shall hereafter let the negroes rule and none of you, who are white,

save those whom many regard as meaner than the negroes, shall have any part in the government, a man of common sense like yourself can find no difficulty in understanding the feelings of our people.

In my opinion friendly feelings to the North can never be restored by the course pursued by the dominant party in Congress—and without such friendly feeling, North Carolina will not pay the debt, except upon military coercion, the greater part of which is due to those whose late actions justify her in regarding as her enemies.

Your question, therefore, in my opinion, depends upon the action of Congress. If they should acknowledge us as a State—receive our representatives—and recognize our rights under the constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the U. S., North Carolina would pay her debts and perform all her duties under the Constitution—In speculating in our stocks you must solve this political question. As I view the action of the dominant power in Congress, I find nothing to justify your investment in N. C. stocks. It all tends to an overthrow of our constitution and the assumption of all the powers of government by Congress.

My individual opinion is that you make no investment in the bonds of North Carolina—and I believe investments in the bonds of provinces of the U. S. are equally unsafe. Revolution is now rampant. Any speculation as to the result of a revolution may suit a political gamble—but not a man of your prudent views.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

To William J. Yates.[1]

Jany. 23 1867.

Concerning false reports in the press.

The publication and republication of articles through the newspapers to the effect that our laws or the non-administration of them, as must be obvious to every body, does great injury to the State abroad, and ought to injure it, if the facts stated were true. There is not a locality in the State where any resistance has been offered to the execution of Civil process, so far as I have heard. The complaints are confined to a few Counties where the cowardice of the citizens is such that they will not inform the civil authorities and bring to punishment those who injure them, lest greater injury should be inflicted by the malefactor. Laws cannot protect a people who are too cowardly to prosecute those who injure them.

Not an instance appears in any of the re-publications which alleges any defect in the laws or any dereliction of duty on the part of the officers of the law, excepting one charging that the militia had been called out and sustained defeat. This was all a mistake. The militia had not been called out—there had been no defeat.

I give you these facts which you may use or not as you think proper. Of course they must not appear over my name but I will be responsible for their accuracy.

CHARLOTTE.

From Rev. Robert Newmann.

NEW YORK *24/1, 67.*

Suggesting encouragement of immigration.

I received your letter in due time and thank you very much for it. It is true that the unsettled state of the Country is damaging all interests of the people, but I trust it will come to an end in some way or other. Emigration especially is needed in my humble opinion under all cir-

[1] Editor of the Charlotte *Democrat.*

cumstances and may be least infected by politics. The German Emigration is the best of all that any State can get as is sufficiently proved by facts well known to all. As for myself I am no Agent, Politician, or anything of the kind, except a German Pastor of the Church of the German people, appointed by my Church for the Immigrants of my people. Disgusted with the Irish administration of Emigrant matters as I have witnessed it for years here in New York I would be happy to see other channels opened for our German Emigrants. Believing besides that the northern parts of the South are well adapted to German Immigration I would consider it a good work to be done for your Country as well as for my people if it was undertaken and carried out on moral and if possible on christian principles. In such a work I would command a great influence as I am well known amongst my people both here in America and in the old country. The Yankees are very clever to undertake and carry out such things in their own way. Lately when I came to a friend of mine, I saw hand bills lying on the table. In looking over I found that a new town and settlement was to be started somewhere in California. Lots in said town were offered to anybody gratis, even without condition of building or settling on it. If you don't go yourself—it was stated—you will take interest that others will go and settle there. Now the idea struck me that some similar plan ought to be adopted by your State or any other State in the South. Give for instance a homestead to some families in a Country that is to be settled and the ball will come into rolling and the tide of Immigration will swell more and more. I could bring it before my people perhaps better than anybody else and would do it with pleasure if carried on on good principles and the Emigration that might come under such directions would not be the worst after all. Then if the Emigrants were to be landed directly on the Southern shore they would escape their northern friends that are waiting for them like wolfs at the old landing places and

their landing would be improved in many respects and their protection too in many ways. In regard to your own plot of Land I would wish you to give me the state of climate—of the surrounding Country, if healthy for northern constitutions, etc. As I intend to go over to Germany about the latter part of next month in order to look into and get acquainted with all matters pertaining to Emigration, I would take your statements with me and make them known to people that are interested in such matters: At the same time I would be obliged to you if you would let me know in time what steps are taken by your Legislature and what inducements are offered to German Immigrants. It might be turned to good account under God's providence.

[P. S.]—Please excuse my deficient English.

To James M. Leach.

Jan. 29 1867.

In reply to your inquiry as to what I remember in relation to a loan made by me as Pub. Treas. from Mr. Perkins about the 1 Feb. 1863—I state

That when I entered on the discharge of my duties as Public Treas. in January 1863 there was not money enough on hand to meets the demands on the Treasury. At the time of making the loan the Genl Assembly was in session and I had not money enough to pay the per diem of the members and other officers and the daily demands of others holding small claims against the State—and I made this and some other loans from individuals under laws then in force authorizing the Treasurer to make such loans. The money went into the Treasury to meet any demand which might be made according to law,—the most urgent ones at the time being the expenses of the Genl Assembly then sitting.

To Nathaniel Boyden & Lewis Hanes.

Jan. 30 1867.

Be cautious about agreements, as the resolution under which you are acting may not be construed as conferring such power. You say you are asked to "agree" on a course of action for the Southern States.

WASHINGTON D. C.

To D. F. Caldwell.

Feb. 9th 1867.

Financial matters.

I have carefully read all your communications to me touching the sad condition of our monetary affairs and endeavored to place them in the hands of members capable of comprehending your views. I find many disposed to favor Berry's scheme. If it shall be found to work well on a small scale—if the currency shall be found with a comparative small issue, shall be found to answer the purpose of money. If the small amount he proposes to issue shall be accepted by bond holders, then your more enlarged views will be carried out. If it will not work in a small way, there can be no hope for its success, looking to the exchange of the whole amount of our bonds for such currency.

Make no apology for writing me, and be assured all will receive the consideration due to an old and sincere friend who has bestowed much thought on the subjects he discusses and do not misconstrue my omission sometimes to answer. It is physically impossible for me to do half the writing I would like to do.

GREENSBORO.

To Edward Bright.

February 12 1867.

I send you herewith an abstract from reports from official sources in the counties named, as to the numbers requiring assistance. Many of the Counties have not yet replied, and this abstract must necessarily fall far short of the entire number. The Legislature has made an appropriation for the paying of freight—and I am willing to meet this expense unless your association assumes it. If your contributions could have been made in money, it would have been much more conveniently distributed among the different counties, by local agents appointed to lay out in food and clothing the amount sent, and the freight saved. Our people will remember gratefully your benevolent association and the people of New York.

Will write you again in a day or so.

NEW YORK CITY.

To Rev. Robert Newmann.

Feb. 12 1867.

Yours of the 24th ult. came duly to hand.

Our Genl. Assembly now in session has under consideration but has not as yet adopted any immigration scheme.

Our people are peculiarly solicitous to invite German emmigration, but our impoverished condition—and the extreme destitution of money and uncertainty of our political condition will probable result for the present in non-action on all immigration schemes.

Describing a tract of land.

I understand the location of the tract of land I described to you as being particularly salubrious: the climate in latitude 34 North, very pleasant. Some 200 acres of the tract has been boxed and worked slightly for turpentine and could at once be made productive of large gains. Each of us who own it, is so engrossed in other affairs that we

have made no attempt to give attention to it, either with the view to the cultivation or the sale of it. In the range of a large acquaintance in North and South Carolina I know no piece of equal value which can be bought at double the price at which we offer it. Having 150 acres of extraordinary fertility ready for the plow without other expense than the cleaning out of the ditches and 450 acres more drained into the main ditch covered with fine timber and near marshes, navigable water—and the whole 600 acres exceedingly fertile it is a most inviting investment for a man who could bring to it the requisite labor—or for a small colony of laborers who would co-operate.

NEW YORK CITY.

To John Kerr,[1]

Feb. 12 1867.

Answer to a petition for pardon.

Your earnest appeal in behalf of Wm. Johnson has been recd. and considered.

It is conceded that he was properly convicted of burglary. The claim for a pardon rested on the ground that the punishment prescribed by law is too severe. It struck me that it was harsh—but it seemed most unreasonable that a man convicted of so great a crime should go *unpunished* and the County of Rockingham pay the cost. Your appeal has not removed this conviction. He cannot be executed till the Spring Term of your Court. In the meantime the Genl. A. may pass an act establishing a Penitentiary, and giving the Executive power of commutation. Should this be the case I would not pardon him, but would commute the death penalty for a term of hard labor. I deem the granting of the pardon

[1] John Kerr, of Caswell, had been previously a member of the legislature, a member of Congress, and a Judge of the Superior Court. He was one of those arrested by Kirk in 1870 and discharged by Judge Brooks.

on the condition of the payment of costs and the pledge of Wm. Hill and yourself that he will at once leave the State—quite as merciful a decision as the facts warrant.

Yanceyville.

To W. A. Hearne & William Biggs.

Feb. 13th 1867.

Explanation of a late editorial.

Yours of the 11th inst., covering article signed "Ocaola" and written as you say by a man of intelligence and responsibility, is before me.

As the commmunication does not state on what part of the extensive coast of the State these outrages occurred and furnishes not one name of those who committed the wrongs or who suffered the wrong, it gives me meagre data on which to act.

If your correspondent will give me the names and residence of persons by whom the acts of criminality set forth were perpetrated, I will communicate them to officers of Justice who will bring the alleged criminals to trial.

I learn from Mr. Granberry, of Currituck that a merchant vessel named Sheridan was stranded on the coast near Roanoke Island some time since—that a number of persons have been arrested under a charge of stealing the wrecked goods, some of whom have given bail, and others unable to give bail, are in jail—that they are to be tried before the district Court of the U. S. next Apl and he has heard they were maltreated while in custody, but he knows the names of none of the parties.

I am entirely satisfied with your explanation and thank you in this instance for sending me this communication and hope your correspondent will give me the specific information or refer to the persons who can give the information necessary to enable me to act efficiently. There is no defect in our laws or lack of efficiency in our officers of justice, but an unfortunate disposition to furnish

lengthy articles for the news-papers, in place of prosecuting criminals.

To Colonel Berry.

Feb. 14 1867.

I have entertained the opinion all the time that the currency would be below par which your bill would furnish. From the facts stated by you as to the S. C. currency, I hoped it would not be greatly below par. Since my conversation with you, I learn that the issues by S. C. do not exceed $300,000. that the notes are redeemable in Greenbacks at the Treasury—and that notwithstanding this and the comparatively small indebtedness of the State, they are some 10 per cent under par. I conclude therefore that ours would be greatly under par—and consequently that the whole of the taxes of next year would be collected in this currency so depreciated that it would not answer the purpose of the Treasury and I therefore fear that the plan will injure instead of benefitting the people.

Having expressed to you my willingness that your bill should be favorably considered candor compels me to say that the facts which have come to my knowledge since my interview with you, and more mature reflection have changed my views.

P. S. I think nothing can be done to restore State credit till National affairs are settled.

To Edward Bright.

Feb. 15 1867.

Your letter of the 11th inst. has been recd. Relief of distress.

Col. Bomford and myself have had a conference today. He feels it necessary to obtain the consent of his

military superiors before he can act on this commission. He is an excellent man and personally will most cheerfully cooperate with me, and we will, as speedily as possible, meet and submit a report as to the destitution of the people in this state. In the greater portion of it, those having charge of the poor, report their ability to prevent starvation. In a few Counties where an extraordinary drouth last summer cut off the crops, there being no money scarcely, the people are positively unable to supply the requisite amount of food to prevent extreme suffering, —if starvation itself can be prevented.

In some Counties, remote from transportation, there is enough to spare in the hands of some to supply the wants of others, but want of money makes it impossible for the authorities to buy. In a few such Counties, pecuniary aid placed in the hands of proper persons to make the purchases, would be better, more economical— than the shipment of corn from New York.

New York City.

To Daniel L. Russell.

Feb. 16 1867.

Apprentice cases.

I have not been furnished with a copy of Genl. Howard's order relating to apprentices—but understand he is satisfied with our laws—and that there will probably be no further interference –but you know little reliance is to be placed on the decision of arbitrary tribunals. The Courts always had the right to cancel Indentures, as I think, upon sufficient cause shown. You should attend the Court and show, if you can, that the binding was according to law—and that if the Court shall decide that the indentures are void on the ground that the apprentice was not present at the binding, (the apprentice being present) the Court will probably re-bind to you, if you desire it.

Shoe Heel.

To John A. Gilmer.

Feb. 16th 1867.

I have confided the whole matter relating to the militia to you and have not bestowed a half hour's attention to the subject about which I am more ignorant than I should be. It seems to be that the officers of the militia ought to be furnished with the militia laws and the rules and tactics by which they are to be governed. I have not perceived that any steps have been taken to supply them and am ignorant whether the Adgt. General or the Govr. is invested with the authority to supply the officers with copies of militia laws and such other forms for returns and regulations for drill, etc. as may enable them to discharge their duties; or whether the Genl. A. must make provision for such providing. An organised militia, without this aid to the performance of their duty seems to me to be particularly absurd. I call your attention to this matter. The Genl. A. will probably adjourn soon. If any thing is to be done in this matter, it must be done promptly. Militia matters.

It seems to me you should be able to get your salary increased and see that any defects in our militia system should be corrected if any such defects have occurred to you.

Say to your father that I would be pleased to have his views on the Borden, Hanes, Jones, Marvin, Powell Sharkey scheme.

GREENSBORO.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Feb. 16th 1867.

The Stephen's bill as a basis for abolishing the State Government in the States lately at war with the U. S. asserts that "said pretended government affords no ade- Reconstruction acts.

quate protection for life or property, but countenances and encourages Secession and crime". This assertion includes North Carolina. It is a monstrous falsehood. In this doctrine two thirds of the House of Representatives have asserted a wicked falsehood—*wicked* because every man knew or would have known, if he desired to know, that the judges of this State could compare favorably both as to personal virtue and legal learning with the judges of any of the States which utter this slander against us. When the Genl Assembly, some weeks ago, passed resolutions declaring that justice was impartially administered, one member, Blythe of Henderson, declared he could not vote for the resolution, because it was not true that justice was impartially administered. A day or two after Waugh of Surry introduced a resolution reciting this remark of Blythe, and calling on the judiciary committee to inquire in what instance the Courts had failed to administer justice impartially. Blythe and a few other partizans who sat with him were summoned to appear before the committee and furnish the proofs. You no doubt saw the report of the committee and Blythe's retreat. The imputation upon our Courts is a colorless falsehood—and no honest man should make such imputation without some proof to sustain it, and as *no proof* could be adduced here by the partizans of Stephens it is fair to presume none exists. Now our friends Boyden and Hanes have assured us there were many Representatives who indulged toward us no feelings of malevolence, but sincerely desired restored Union on the basis of genuine reconciliation, but I find all of them endorsing this falsehood which each of them knew would embitter instead of conciliating. Is it possible *all of* them have lost sight of the respect for truth in their anxiety to condemn us?

I suppose no man holding a seat in Congress will plead even in palliation of his falsehood the slanders of a depraved press, but if they were even to resort to the *Stand-*

ard and all the lying presses of the State which are courting Radical rule over us, they can find nothing to sustain this slander. I can scarcely realize that the House of Representatives of the United States are capable of so unworthy an act. If it be true as to other States, (of which I have no evidence) I know it to be false as to this. It is an affirmative proposition, and if true, proof could be adduced to sustain it. I defy the production of any proof from any respectable source.

I infer from the late action of Congress that their fixed policy is to force universal suffrage for the blacks and to disfranchise the great body of the whites, whereby the political power of these States is to be transferred to the negroes, who, as they think, would vote for Thad. Stephens or other such men as next President. It seems to me the Northern people, judging by the action of their representatives, desire to heighten and extend malevolence between the sections in order to control us according to their pleasure and without any regard to constitutions State or National. I pray God, I may be mistaken, but the late action of Congress forces me to this conclusion.

I presume you have a better opinion of Congress—and I shall be thankful to you for any information tending to change my views.

P. S. The Genl. Assembly would adopt the late basis of settlement, called the North Carolina plan, if assured that it would be a finality and that our representatives would be received. Boyden and Hanes represented to us that Bingham and other Republicans favored it. We see these very men voting for the Louisiana and Stephens bill, and take it they only want to make us ridiculous.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To James L. Orr.

Feb. 21 1867.

Genl Assembly are trying to harmonise on the North Carolina plan of compromise. Will probably adopt it soon. If pressed to immediate action there would be considerable division.

Columbia, S. C.

From B. S. Hedrick.

Washington, D. C. *Feb. 22, 1867.*

Discussion of the Reconstruction acts.

Yours of the 16th inst. I received day before yesterday. What you state about the wickedness of such statements as the preamble of the Stevens bill is true, but I do not see how any one can prevent it. If you should say anything to Stevens about it, he would reply that he spoke only what he had authority for saying from *men* on the ground. The worst of the matter is that with men like Holden, and others from N. C. constantly making the statements they do, it is impossible to set the State right till she gets restored to her position in the Union. I was making a friendly call a few evenings ago, and in conversation said that matters were getting on in N. C. as well as could be expected under the circumstances; that the Courts were as able and impartial as they ever had been, and as they are anywhere. The gentleman to whom I addressed myself, a clerk in the Treasury Dept. replied that he had it from undoubted authority that Union U. S. Soldiers were shot down in N. C. and no effort made to punish the murderers tho' they were well known to the authorities. I asked him for his authority and he gave the name of Mr. French, late direct tax Commissioner for N. C. Now I know Mr. French, but have not seen him for sometime. He is generally considered a fair sort of a man. When he is required to back up his statement he will probably put it off on some one who told him,

and so the matter will vanish about as Tourgee's mill-pond with seventeen dead negroes in it. But after all you must recollect that not one member of Congress in twenty has either the time or opportunity to examine for himself. He trusts to some one who he thinks would not mislead him, and the man who misleads gets his information from some man who has been frightened by the reports he backs up. If all the Southern States were as well governed as N. C. I believe the work of reconstruction would be comparatively easy. It seems to me that the main thing to be done now is to get N. C. some how separated from the other States that are still hostile to a settlement. Members of Congress take many of their notions of the South from what they see in Virginia right across the Potomac, and there quite a number of times men have been murdered, and the authorities have refused to take any steps to punish the murderers, and in several instances the county courts have refused to entertain suits against rebels by Union people. From all I can learn life and property is better protected in N. C. than it is in many parts of Tennessee. The right way is then to sustain the State authorities, and get the State restored as soon as possible. The Bill just passed tho' very objectionable in preamble, and unjust in several of its provisions, is still milder than any bill that can be passed. The Sherman (Senate) bill would have gone through but for the combined copperheads and Thad Stevens Radicals. No matter what is done, whether this bill becomes a law or some other, still the principle of universal suffrage will be the law, and Ashley, Thad. Stevens and men of that class think they can carry in the next Congress the Louisiana bill applied to all the States, with confiscation. I think Reverdy Johnson in the speech in the Senate stated the case very fairly when he voted for the amended bill. You will see his speech in the papers of Wednesday. The bill as passed opposed by what is known here as the Southern Republican associa-

tion. They are nearly all for the Louisiana bill to be applied to all the States. Most of these "Southern republicans" are Northern men who have gone down to Tex., Ga. Ala., Miss. and S. C. with the idea of getting high office and have failed. Now if they could get through the La. bill they would expect to be appointed Govs. and members of Council and the like. It is for that reason that they are opposed to the bill. For the bill passed continues the present State Govts., as *provisional*.

It is exceedingly important that the true friends of the State take no imprudent step just now. If this new bill becomes a law the Legislature should call a Convention to meet in May, June, or July, to form a State constitution. If this bill fails some other will be passed by the new Congress in March, unless Thad. Stevens thinks that he can fight off all plans of reconstruction till after the next presidential election. I have little doubt that a Convention will be called in N. C. before the close of next summer. It is for the Legislature to consider whether they will take the initiative or whether they will leave it to Holden.

I would say more but for the uncertainty that hangs over the next ten days. I shall be glad to hear from you frequently.

To Governor Parsons.[1]

Feb. 22 1867.

Just as we got ready to act, we received notice of the action of Congress. Would not action *now* simply humiliate without doing any good?

Washington, D. C.

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[1] Lewis E. Parsons, Provisional Governor of Alabama in 1865.

To James L. Orr.

Feb. 22 1867.

Relating to compromise plan of Reconstruction.

There was here almost no objection to the proposed amendment granting limited suffrage to the negroes. If the State were free from extraneous interference such an amendment, as I think, would be politic in view of the State's best interest.

The section inhibiting the States from abridging the immunities and privileges of a citizen of the U. S., I regard, as the nest egg from which new strife would be hatched, if the plan were adopted, or if not adopted, would be construed as securing to the negro the right to be elected to the Genl A., to Congress, etc. This we will not concede to avert any vengeance which may be in store for us. If we are to be humiliated to this extent, we can at least avoid humiliating ourselves. If its proper construction be simply a re-affirmation of clause 1 Sec. 2 Art. 4, Constitution of the U. S. it is mere surplusage. It would furnish plausible ground of argument and it would be insisted and very probably construed as restraining the States from denying to a negro *any* privilege accorded to a white man.

With some modification of this Section, we had reached such harmony that the plan could have been carried through, as I think, with sufficient unanimity to have made it subserve the purposes contemplated. Just as we had got ready to act with some harmony, we were appraised of the late Act of Congress—and I now think our action would simply humiliate us and effect no good. I have sent a telegram to this effect to Gov. Parsons. If our friends in Washington do not concur in these views, in deference to their wishes we may still act.

I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject

COLUMBIA, S. C.

To Governor Parsons.

Feb. 22 1867.

Compromise plan of Reconstruction.

Just as we had got our views so harmonized as to make our action effective the news of the action of Congress reaches us, and the impression now is that the proposed action would be injurious, instead of beneficial. In view of the demands of the Act of Congress, our concession would be so insignificant, that it would subject us to ridicule and contempt, and have no tendency to strengthen our friends, in the impression of many. If you still think we should act, telegraph to me.

Gov. Graham and our other friends agreed not to be in the way of the action proposed.

The late telegrams from Washington have produced no excitement here—but all infer that the dominant power will not be satisfied with any concession we can make without a voluntary degradation on our part more terrible than any infliction which the most rabid can impose.

I still hope the nation is not demented and that we may yet be saved from total and hopeless ruin.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *Feb. 24, 67.*

I have a letter from Mr. Busbee in which he says that the legislature is expected to adjourn on Thursday. I hope they will not go just yet, at least till the fate of the bill now before the President is decided. It is rumored that the President will veto it on Wednesday. So the legislature can by waiting *one* week more know what to do. Please urge this. If the legislature adjourns to meet *next Fall*, it will not *meet* then.

It is my firm conviction that a convention should be

called, unless the legislature propose amendments to the constitution. *No,* the Convention is the thing.

I will write again soon.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Feb. 26 1867.

Your late letter was recd last night.

We have not received Mr. Johnson's speech. His vote on the late measure is to me most surprising. According to his previous speeches he must have regarded it as unconstitutional. I had regarded him as a firm supporter of constitutional law. I understand that he voted for it on the ground of his conviction that if that bill failed to pass one more objectionable would pass. If Reverdy Johnson's notions of constitutional duty have become thus lax, it is a mournful sign of the times.

In regard to call of a Convention.

You think the Genl Assembly should call a Convention. If you mean that it should call one according to the State Constitution under which the members were elected and which each of them swore he would support, I would have no objection. I would favor it—and would prefer that it extend suffrage to negroes, having $200. worth of taxable property—and I would not object to its being extended to those who could read and write, though I regard the latter teste as no strong evidence of intelligence and good citizenship.

If you mean that the Genl Assembly should order a Convention by the voters, who alone could vote under the late act of Congress how could any conscientious man reconcile such act with his official oath. If your idea that we ought to impose on ourselves the disfranchisement the act proposes and immediately give the *right* of suffrage to *all* the *negroes,* do you think either our friends or our enemies would thereafter respect us? Could we respect

ourselves? If it be the intention of the Northern people to destroy us, our humiliation would be likelier to beget their contempt than their pity, and would not be likely to avert their vengeance. If we are to be utterly ruined, which now seems probable, the general feeling is that it is not justifiable to commit suicide even to avoid being hanged.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *Feb. 26, 67.*

Plans of the Radicals in the State.

I have a letter from Mr. Battle. He thinks the Legislature will do nothing. I am sorry for it. If they adjourn now they may as well go home and stay for I do not think that they will ever again assemble. It is not yet known whether the new bill as amended will pass. If reasonable men from the South could be heard I feel sure that it would be modified. The most unjust part of it is that disfranchising all who ever took an oath to support the U. S. Constitution, and were afterwards in any way involved in the rebellion. But bad as that matter is I do not believe Congress will accept anything less harsh. The fact is every proposition will be much worse and worse. There is also another matter that I wish to communicate confidentially, that [is] for yourself and your most trusted friends. I have it on good authority that Dr. Powell and Holden have a scheme, approved by certain members of Congress to go to work and organize a *new* so-called loyal State Govt. They will begin by invitations to the people to assemble in their sovereign capacity and elect delegates to a Convention at which all *loyal men*, white and black will be allowed to vote. This Convention will form a constitution and such as will be accepted by Congress. Everybody knows what Holden means by

loyal. It means those who vote for him. I have little doubt that this scheme of Holden's will be put in operation either under the military bill or under some such bill as the Louisiana bill.

I was glad to see Mr. Starbuck here today. He came on a summons from the Judiciary Committee.

Whatever is done by the present Congress will be known in a few days.

With best regards.

To O. G. Parsley & Co.

RALEIGH, *Feby. 27 1867.*

I was duly advised by the benevolent association of ladies in N. Y. of the shipment of the 3000 bu. corn to you to be distributed to the necessitous by myself and Col. Bomford—not Genl. Robinson. Col. B. Chief of the Freedman's Bureau in the State, would not act on the Commission without leave from Genl. Howard. I was yesterday advised by Col. B. that permission to act had been accorded to him—and I hope by to-morrow that we shall have agreed as to the distribution and if so, you will be immediately directed to what point you may send it. The Bureau will provide for transportation on the R. R. I will pay your charges and marine charges.

WILMINGTON.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, *D. C. Feb. 28, 67.*

Discussion of a State Convention.

The Convention which should be ordered by the Legislature would be one in accordance with the laws of the State and of the United States. I judge from what you and Mr. Battle write that nothing could be done short

of letting matters drift, which will lead to the entire overthrow of the present State Govt. So far as constitutional authority goes, the present State Govt. is based solely on the authority given by the President to Holden. Congress assumes that it has the same right to form a State Govt. that the President has, that is that it has the authority to empower the people to form a Govt. for themselves, which is really what the President did. For after all the right of the governed to form their own government is the fundamental principle of the U. S. Constitution. The Congress derives its power over the subject from the section which guarantees a republican form of Govt. to each State, which the President interprets as giving the Executive the power to secure republican Govt. for the State. Congress now has the power to take to itself this function, and whether expedient or unexpedient it will do it.

As to the abstract question of suffrage I cannot see how any one set of men have a right to exclude any other set of men from voting, especially in matters relating to the fundamental law, such as constitutions. Only those can be excluded who are not part of the governing body, such as foreigners and criminals. There is no reason in the abstract why $200. should enable a man to vote. In the matter of educational and property qualification I cannot see what justice or right there is in requiring more of a black man than a white. If any discrimination should be made it should be on the scriptural rule of "*where* much is given much will be *required.*"

Leaving all abstractions aside I can very well understand that it may be very inexpedient and injurious to give universal suffrage. But as soon as you take the ground of political expediency almost anything may be defended, for instance monarchy, despotism, aristocracy, or any other system that has its admirers and supporters. But on the "Republican Theory" it is a political fallacy to deprive any class of the full franchise of a man. And

as a matter of fact, you are just as certain as anything can be to have universal suffrage. This will be either by the voluntary act of the State, or by the Act of Congress. If the present Congress does not pass the Military bill over a veto, the next Congress will probably do nothing for a while. But I think there is very little doubt that a bill similar to the Louisiana bill will be passed by the next Congress. The Legislature may as well adjourn sine die, unless they can call a Convention and every body to vote.

We had an election in Washington on Monday with universal suffrage. It was as orderly as any election we have ever had. The old Mayor was very abusive of the negroes and opposed to giving them suffrage. He was beaten by the candidate that was friendly to suffrage. But more than half of the Conservative candidates for Councilmen were elected notwithstanding that the Mayor on the same ticket was beaten. It was a real pleasure to see the improvement effected in the character of the democratic procession. Heretofore every Democratic procession in this city has carried transparencies with low and filthy matters in regard to *niggers, miscegenation,* and similar matters. But now no such things are to be seen. In fact all reference to *niggers* disappeared from the transparencies. I do not see why the adoption of real impartial suffrage will not entirely remove the negro agitation from politics. And if it shall be found on fair trial that universal suffrage is not conducive to the public weal, it can then be changed as every other real reform has been effected.

It seems to me that it is of the utmost importance that a full restoration of the State be effected with the least delay possible. All interests require it. If matters go on as they have been for the last year the State will lose a large part of its population. It was on this ground that President Johnson went for the Military bill.

[P. S.] Senator Ben Wade is to be Vice President on and after March 4, or rather President of the Senate and if the President should be impeached Wade would be President.

W. H. Bagley to O. G. Parsley & Co.

February 28th 1867.

Relief of distress.

I am instructed by the Governor to request that you ship at once of the corn in your hands from the New York Southern Relief Association, One thousand bushels to Salisbury, the U. S. Quarter Master at that place consignee—Thirteen hundred bushels to Charlotte, the U. S. Quarter Master at that place consignee. Col. Bomford has instructed Quarter Master Mears of your City, to co-operate with you and give you all the aid in his power, in its removal, shipment, etc. The Bureau agrees to transport it on the Rail Roads and such expense as is not met by the Bureau, will be met by the State, upon the receipt of your bill for this cause. Would it be convenient to you to keep the remaining 700 bushels in your ware-house until the points of its distribution are decided upon, (which will be in a few days). Col. Bomford will order it to be received in the U. S. ware-house in your city.

WILMINGTON.

From W. H. Bagley to H. M. Houston.

February 28th 1867.

Distribution of supplies to the needy.

I am instructed by the Governor to inform you that he has named you to act, on the part of the State, in the distribution of the corn which has been contributed by the New York Southern Relief Association, among the suffering of your County. One thousand bushels (1000) have been assigned to your County and will be shipped

in a few days, from Wilmington to Charlotte, (consigned to the U. S. Quarter Master at the latter place) subject to the orders of yourself and Mr. Darling Brown, who has been designated by the U. S. Military authorities to co-operate with and aid you in its distribution.

The distribution is to be made among the indigent without regard to race and color, or political or religious opinions.

Blank receipts will be forwarded to you and Mr. Brown to be signed by the parties receiving contributions, which, it is desired, should be returned to this office, to be forwarded to the Relief Association in New York, that they may see that their benevolence has been properly disposed of.

Much is left to the discretion of yourself and Mr. Brown—and you will regulate your distribution according to their known necessities.

MONROE.

To Daniel Freeman.

February 28th 1867.

Distribution of supplies to the needy.

I am instructed by the Governor to inform you that he has named you to act, on the part of the State, in the distribution of the corn which has been contributed by the New York Southern Relief Association, among the suffering of your County. One thousand (1000) bushels have been assigned to your County and will be shipped in a few days, from Wilmington to Salisbury, subject to the orders of yourself and Mr. D. A. G. Palmer, who has been designated by the U. S. Military authorities, to co-operate with and aid you in its distribution. The distribution is to be made among the indigent without regard to race or color, or political or religious opinions. Blank receipts will be forwarded to you and Mr. Palmer to be signed by the parties receiving contributions, which it is desired should be returned to this office to be forwarded to the Relief Association in New York, that they

may see that their benevolence has been properly disposed of. Much is left to the discretion of yourself and Mr. Palmer and you will regulate your distributions according to their known necessities.

P. S. The corn will be consigned to the U. S. Quarter Master at Salisbury.

ALBEMARLE.

W. H. Bagley to L. L. Polk.

February 28th 1867.

Distribution of supplies to the needy.

I am instructed by the Governor to inform you that he has named you to act, on the part of the State, in the distribution of the corn which has been contributed by the New York Southern Relief Association among the suffering of your County. Three hundred (300) bushels have been assigned your County and will be shipped in a few days from Wilmington to Charlotte (consigned to the U. S. Quarter Master at the latter place) subject to the orders of yourself and Mr. Wm. McFarland, who has been designated by the U. S. Military authorities to co-operate with and aid you in its distribution.

The distribution is to be made among the indigent without regard to race or color, or political or religious opinions.

Blank receipts will be forwarded to you and Mr. McFarland to be signed by the parties receiving contributions, which it is desired should be returned to this office to be forwarded to the Relief Association in New York, that they may see that their benevolence has been properly disposed of. Much is left to the discretion of yourself and Mr. McFarland and you will regulate your distributions according to their known necessities.

P. S. The corn will be consigned to the U. S. Quarter Master at Charlotte. N. C.

LANESBORO.

To J. M. Hamlin.

Mar 2 1867.

It would give me pleasure to grant your request, if the circumstances of the times would allow it. An act has recently passed forbidding the organization of the militia in the ten states excluded from representation in Congress. It is in accordance with what seems to be the present policy of Congress, and I suppose will pass the Senate. I think you had better forbear until (if ever) we are recognized as entitled to our constitutional privileges as a State.

Brevard.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Raleigh *Mar 2 1867.*

Political conditions in the State.

I have done my best to induce the Genl A. to rescind their order of adjournment on Monday next, but for ten days past, as has been usual time immemorial, numbers have left from day to day, until there was a bare quorum (two thirds of all the members of both houses) to call a Convention. We still hope we have some constitution. At all events we trace all our power to a Constitution we are sworn to support. We are not yet resolved to act on the assumption that political chaos exists and we are at liberty to act in violation of our oath to support the Constitution both of the State and United States, as we understand them. We acknowledge our duty to subordinate our individual views as to constitutional interpretations to the Judiciary.

We have had no late intelligence from Washington. We are not advised that the Sherman scheme is yet a law—and if it were, we do not know whether it contemplates the call of such a Convention as it proposes, by the State Legislature or by Act of Congress or by military authority. If it shall appear to be necessary the Govr. and

Council can and will call an extra session. Holden and his followers, as is understood here, will proceed, immediately after the adjournment, to hold primary meetings and get up a Convention to be elected by the negroes and such of the whites as they may allow to vote. They give it out that they have the assurance of the Congressional leaders, that the acts of such a Convention will be recognized and validated by Congress.

In this upheaving of civil government, we look only for anarchy:—and unversal despondency, except with the Holdenites, prevails. They expect, apparently with good reason, to be sustained and supported by the power of the nation. If they suceed in their plans they will make these ten States unhealthy appendages of the Union, which will soon disease and destroy the whole body politic.

P. S. The Senate voted last night 27 to 13 for the call of a Convention. The thirteen, I am told, were all men of Radical proclivaties—The House did not vote on it, because a Constitutional quorum was not present. It is understood that more than two-thirds of those present would have voted for it.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To D. L. Swain.

Mar. 3 1867.

Concerning a mission to Washington.

After a conference with Govs. Graham and Vance, I am confirmed in my previous impression that it is my duty again to visit Washington, to ascertain as nearly as possible our present *status* and to decide after the best lights I can obtain, what North Carolina can do, if any thing, to avert total ruin. They heartily concur in my associating you and Judge Ruffin with me on this mission.

Gov. Graham thinks we should spend a day in Richmond.

I will hold myself in readiness to go at the *earliest*

day you and Judge Ruffin may agree upon. I shall write Judge Ruffin this evening. I regret to ask of you this sacrifice but feel constrained to urge your acceptance of this commission.

If preferred by you I will meet you at Hillsboro, and go by the Danville road and spend a day in Richmond as we go over. I hope the time you fix may not be longer off than next Thursday.

I am authorised to pay our expenses by draft from the Public Treasury.

Please let me hear from you at the earliest practicable time.

You will do well to confer with Judge R., as to the time of departure as soon as you receive this.

CHAPEL HILL.

To Thomas Ruffin, Sr.

March 8 1867.

Concerning a mission to Washington.

After a conference with Govs. Graham and Vance I am confirmed in my previous impression that it is my duty again to visit Washington, to ascertain as nearly as possible our present status and to decide, after the best light I can obtain what North Carolina can do if anything to avert total ruin. They heartily concur in my appointing you and Gov. Swain with me on this mission.

Gov. Graham thinks we should spend a day in Richmond.

I will hold myself in readiness to go at the *earliest* day you and Gov. Swain may agree upon. I shall write Gov. Swain this evening. I regret to ask of you to make this sacrifice, but feel constrained to urge your acceptance of the commission.

If preferred by you I will meet you at Hillsboro and go by the Danville Road and spend a day in Richmond

as we go on. I hope the time you fix may not be longer off than next Thursday. I am authorised to pay our expenses by a draft on the Pub. Treas.

Please let me hear from you at the earliest practicable time.

P. S. You would do well to confer with Gov. Swain as to the time of departure as soon as you receive this.

HILLSBORO.

To W. Whitaker.

Mar. 6 1867.

My onerous duties here have occupied my time so fully that I could not answer promptly your letter of the 24 ult.

I read it to Major B. He is very poor—much poorer than your showing proves you to be—and does not think, in view of the circumstances under which he made the loan to you, that he should be called upon to make a sale of yr property to raise the money he loaned you.

I have made such efforts out of my slender means to aid my children and friends that I have no disposable means, or I would offer my aid.

GOLDSBORO.

To J. M. Worth.

Mar. 6 1867.

Various business matters.

Yours of the 1st inst. reached me yesterday.

I fully and heartily concur in all your views as to our factory interests and had determined to attend the next annual meeting and carry them out—but I cannot discharge my responsible duties to the Country without going to Washington at once in order to get more accurate information than I can otherwise obtain.

I have sent Jesse Walker my proxy and expressed distinctly my concurrence in your views.

I have to-day expressed, in a letter to Br. B. G.[1] my views somewhat at large, as to our political status, who will show you the letter if you desire to see it. I am every way oppressed with my duties public and private.

I shall probably remain several days in Washington,—at the Ebbitt House. As to continuing to act as Govr., as in all other things, I must act on events as they arise. I can conceive of no state of things which will induce me to give my sanction to the Disunion views of the Radicals. I have fully as much abhorrence for them and believe they are less patriotic than Secession was in 1860-61.

To Jesse Walker.

Mar. 6 1867.

Various business matters.

I had fully intended to be present at the next meeting of the stockholders of Cedar Falls Co.—but I now fear that my public duties will forbid it.

I inclose to you my proxy, expecting you to act for me as you may think it best to act for yourself, remembering only that I think, with Br. Milton if we leave the management of our business to men whose chief interests in business are centered in other and rival business that our stock will soon be sunk—and that however unpleasant it may be on many accounts, a total change in the management must be *promptly* made, if we would save ourselves. Owing to my peculiar condition I desire that this expression of my views may be regarded as confidential.

If the course I indicate be adopted a very minute and full statement of our effects and the debts due by and to the corporation should be required *before* decisive action.

If possible I will be present and take my full share of responsibility.

I expect to leave for Washington in a day or two to

[1] B. G. Worth.

get at more accurate information than I can otherwise obtain to govern my action in my present responsible position.

New Salem.

[*Enclosure.*]

Raleigh, *Mar. 5 1867.*

I hereby appoint Jesse Walker to act as my agent and proxy in all meeting of the stockholders of Cedar Falls Co. until this power shall be revoked by me.

Witness my signature and seal.

To B. G. Worth.

Mar. 6th 1867.

I recd in due time the pen-maker and have had it in daily use since. I ought to have acknowledged the receipt of it, and returned to you my cordial thanks for it and the pens you sent me: but I presume you have snatched [hours] from your very busy occupations in sensible business time enough to have some appreciation of my trouble in the wilds of politicks.

Political conditions.

The *actions* of the North, not their *words* as yet, indicate their ultimate purpose to be to give to the negroes in these States political control in the expectation that by this means they (the North) will retain their political control. Until lately policy has required them to pretend they were acting under the *constitution* which the masses once reverenced. They begin now to feel strength enough to throw off the disguise and establish over the States a full military despotism under the avowed principle that the rise of the people – *the people then represented,* ought not to be fettered by constitutional restraints. Most of them still pretend their object is to guarantee Republican govt. to these States, and to this end they indicate the principles we are to incorporate in our constitutions and

send bayonets enough here to control our law. The Secessionists conducted their machinations under the guise of reverence for the constitution until they got the minds of the South maddened and then threw off the guise. The Radicals are beginning to throw off disguise. Their *actions* which always speak louder than *words,* leave no doubt in my mind, that their real purpose is to make the negroes the dominant power in these States and confiscate and turn over to them the property of the whites. At present the great body of the Northern people do not desire this but the leaders do, and the masses are led by their leaders as the victim is led to the slaughter. As an excuse to carry out this design they require of us terms of pretended compromise which no one having any manhood and respect for the constitution can except, in order to make our refusal to accept the terms an excuse for carrying out their designs. The President's late vetoes which prove as conclusively as human logic can prove any thing, that the dominant power has thrown away the old chart and compass, the constitution,—and are sailing and are guided only by the furor of their party leaders, is contemned and despised—and the great intellect of Reverdy Johnson quails before the storm and consents to vote for measures he admits to be unconstitutional, to avert, as he obscurely asserts, more unconstitutional measures.

Amidst the desertion of lick spittle Secessionists, such as Chalmers, Holden, *et id omne genus;* and the threats of impeachment, evidently not idle, which the infatuated North holds over the Prest., I am filled with admiration at his noble self-possession and the courage with which he holds up the flag, when he cannot but feel that the ship is sinking.

I shall go to Washington in a short time—say within a day or two,—to possess myself of the best information possible, for the guidance of my conduct.

The great body of our people is so sick of hope de-

ferred, that I think it not improbable that they will yield to the demands of the North in the vain hope of being allowed some part in the control of the government under which they live. It is evident to me that the only mode of averting Northern wrath, is to shout for Stephens and Sumner: as the only ground of protection from Northern Democrats is to shout for Democracy: Party ascendency, now as at the beginning of our troubles, and not Patriotism, controls all the actions of the political leaders on both sides.

To Worth & Daniel.

Mar. 7 1867.

We all thank you for your box of oranges received—and the keg of which we were advised last night and which has not come to hand.

Gloomy political outlook.

I cannot perform my duty in my present position without a clearer apprehension of the whole revolutionary program than I can acquire here. I shall start to Washington to-day or to-morrow—and take such action on my return as I may deem best. The late action of Congress is generally confessed to be unconstitutional—but it has passed according to the [forms] of the Constitution, and as we have no power of physical resistance, it must be obeyed until the proper tribunal, the Supreme Court of the U. S., shall declare it null and void. A large part of the Court, and possibly a majority of it, unites in the revolution, or are terror stricken and will shrink from a manly discharge of the judicial independence of former times. If I find there is no remedy in the Supreme Court, there is no course left but obedience or resistence—the latter is impossible. I feel deeply my responsibility.

I deem it very uncertain as to how long I shall be allowed to occupy my present position. In revolutions nobody can anticipate the action of revolutions and therefore

I have little confidence in my prescience. If I cannot resist, either by the judiciary or physical force, what course is then left. It seems to me that obedience no longer becomes degradation—but sensible prudence. If I say I will not execute the law it must result in putting the executive power in hands likely to use it more oppressively than I would, without any tendency to avert the evils. I conclude, at present, that if we have no remedy through the Judiciary, we should submit to a state of things we cannot resist and endeavor to guide the revolution.

I heartily approve the President's veto message. It was his duty to resist the enactment of an unconstitutional law. When it passed in spite of him, I presume he will deem it his duty to obey it until the Supreme Court shall declare it void. That Court, I fear, is demoralized and will drift with the Revolution.

Deeming it entirely uncertain whether I shall continue in public service or not, I propose to plant some cotton and try to make something to live upon and to give me employment.

I want guano and bone phosphate enough for 16 acres of cotton—and have no money. Do you sell these fertilizers to men on whom you can rely and wait till the crop is made? If not, I will not ask for a credit you don't extend to others but will raise the money. Which fertilizer would you use? Will it be best to buy it of you, where?

WILMINGTON.

To John Berry.

March 8 1867.

Yours without date, post-marked the 7th inst. was received this morning. I heartily concur in your views. The uniform management of the Road as hitherto requires *radical* changes.

The inclosures will answer your inquiries as far as I am able.

P. S. I shall leave for Washington to-night or to-morrow. The action of the Virginia Senate——about unanimous,—as well as all the information I receive, tends to indicate submission to the Sherman bill.

HILLSBORO.

To Colonel J. V. Bomford.

RALEIGH, *Mar. 8th 1867.*

Distribution of supplies to the needy.

I propose, as mentioned to you in our Conference to-day, to distribute the remaining 700 bu. of corn in the hands of O. G. Parsley & Co., as follows, to Cabarrus 350 bu. to be sent to Concord, to be distributed under the direction of A. J. York and such person as you may nominate: and 350 bu. to Guilford, to be sent to Greensboro and distributed under the direction of Jesse H. Lindsay and your nominee.

RALEIGH.

From W. H. Bagley to O. G. Parsley & Co.

Distribution of supplies to the needy.

It has been agreed upon by Col. Bomford and Gov. Worth, that the remaining 700 bushels of corn shall be disposed of between the Counties of Guilford, Cabarrus and Rutherford. I suppose Gaston is mentioned, in the orders of Q. M. Means, as the point of shipment for that of Rutherford. Fifty (50) bu. only is asked for Rutherford; the remaining to be divided between the Counties of Cabarrus and Guilford.

WILMINGTON.

W. H. Bagley to W. A. Wright.

March 20th 1867.

Meeting of the Council of State.

Yours of the 19th, in regard to the meeting of the Council of State, has been received.

The object of the Governor in assembling the Council was to submit for their consideration and advice the extraordinary situation of Federal Affairs, as touching this and the other Southern States. It is true, the leading object he had in view, was the prompt assembling of the General Assembly, at the time he issued the summons. But the time of the meeting of the Council—the 26th inst—will be, most likely, after the issuing of Genl Sickles general order, assuming command of this district; and the Governor would, no doubt, like much to have the views and opinions of his *entire* Council. With this statement, you can judge best yourself as to the propriety of your being absent from the meeting.

WILMINGTON.

From W. H. Bagley to Rev. Drury Lacy.

March 21st 1867.

Estimate of suffering in the State.

Your letter of the 20th inst. to the Governor, enclosing another from the Rev. Dr. Boardman, of Philadelphia, making inquiries as to the amount of suffering in this State, has been received. The Governor is now absent but I can give you the information desired with, perhaps, as much accuracy, as I have the files of reports made to him by the Chairmen of the Warden Courts, in different counties, before me. The following list will give you all the information which these reports afford:—

Ashe	County	Whites	30	Blacks	20
Cabarrus	"	"	60	"	10
Carteret	"	"	108	"	54
Caswell	"	"	87	"	50

Chatham	County	Whites	14	Blacks	13
Clay	"	"	174	"	
Craven	"	"	52	"	
Duplin	"	"	173	"	20
Gaston	"	"	30	"	6
Guilford	"	"	255	"	20
Lincoln	"	"	18	"	45
Martin	"	"	70	"	29
Montgomery	"	"	144	"	50
Rockingham	"	"	91	"	28
Rowan	"	"	79	"	7
Stanly	"	"	520	"	250
Union	"	"	700	"	322
Yadkin	"	"	65	"	21

The above represent the number of the indigent in each of the counties named. From less direct sources we have information that there is destitution in Anson County, and other localities. The destitution has been relieved in the Counties of Stanly, Anson, Guilford, and Cabarrus, somewhat, in that 1000 bushels of corn have been sent to the two first named, and 300 bushels to the three last, each.

Raleigh.

To R. C. Lindsay.

March 22 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

Some corn was placed at the disposal of myself and Col. Bomford by an association of charitable ladies in N. Y., but the whole of it has been distributed. 350 bu. of it was ordered to be sent to Guilford—all under the care of Jesse H. Lindsay and an officer appointed by Col. Bumford. It was all ordered to Greensboro, for distribution to the needy in Guilford. If it has not already reached

there, it will reach there very soon. If you make application to Mr. Lindsay he may be able to supply a little to the parties to whom you refer.

The Freedman's Bureau is also extending aid to the very necessitous. The Chmn. of the several warden Courts in the State have been called upon by me under a resolution of the Genl Assembly, to furnish me a list of their very indigent. The Chn of Guilford has furnished me with a long list, which I have had placed in the hands of the proper officer of that Bureau. If the parties to whom you refer have not been placed on the list and the Chmn. of your Warden Court shall report them to me as being unprovided for and unable to provide necessary food, I will submit their names to the proper officer—but I think they will be supplied, on your application direct to the officer of the Bureau in your County, who distributes this charity, to-wit, A. Dilsworth. You had better apply directly to Mr. Dilsworth.

HIGH POINT.

To Colonel S. T. Wilder.

Mar. 23 1867.

Relating to the police force.

I understand the police force formed in this State by the Federal army is not now recognized as an organization by the Federal authorities. The persons composing this organization were liable to enrollment in the militia; but under the late acts of Congress putting us under martial law and declaring the State militia disorganized, your question at present, whether the answer be the one way or the other, has no practical importance now. It was otherwise at the date of yr letter.

LOUISBURG.

To J. T. Morehead.

March 23 1867.

Advising registration.

Yours of the 6th inst. reached here after I had left for Washington. I find most of it relating to matters which subsequent legislation has made provision for.

It is manifest that everybody entitled to vote ought to register and do his best by his vote and his influence to elect as good men as possible into the Convention.

Plan of opposing the Reconstruction acts.

When the Convention shall have acted, if the Constitution be intolerable, going further in the way of proscription than the legislation of Congress requires, there will be a chance to refuse the Constitution by a majority of the [voters?] The only question (inter nos) being debated by the Southern States, is, whether it be expedient or not, for the States to apply to the Supreme Court of the U. S., at its session, next month, for a Writ of Injunction against the Prest and the military commandants, restraining them from executing this law on the ground of its unconstitutionality. Sharkey, R. J. Walker and Parsons think this course will be effectual and advisable. The legislature of Louisiana has directed this course. It is certain that the Governors of Va. La. and Ala. will oppose any application to the Court. I am not informed as to the views of the Governors of S. C., Florida, Georgia and Texas—Mississippi will try the Court.

I will submit the question to my Council next Tuesday.

I have not time to give you the arguments pro and con.

I would gladly have the views of our legal friends on this question by next Tuesday.

To Thomas Ruffin.

Mar. 23 1867.

Plan of resisting the Reconstruction acts.

It is deemed inexpedient that Congress know that any of the States will make an effort to resist, by the action of

the Supreme Court, the execution of the military reconstruction bill of the 2nd March, lest they continue their sitting or take further measures to embarrass or overthrow the Court. You will therefore speak of what follows only to Gov. Graham and other legal friends in whom you may confide.

Judge Sharkey and R. G. Walker are employed by the Gov. of Mississippi to apply in the name of that State and such others as may choose to join in it, to the Supreme Court of the U. S., which holds an adjourned session next month, for an Injunction against the Prest. and his military commandants, restraining them from the execution of the law on the ground of its unconstitutionality.

I have heard the bill read. On next Tuesday I shall submit to our Council of State the questions—

1. Whether the Gov. alone, or with the advice of his Council, have the right to make the State a party to such a bill?

2. Is it expedient to do so?

I have written Judge Curtis for his opinion to be submitted to my Council—and would like to have yours and Gov. Graham's.

HILLSBORO.

To Mrs. R. C. Pritchard.

Mar. 28 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

I thank you for calling my attention to the case of extreme destitution which you so feelingly describe.

No money is placed under my control—nor clothing. I have control over some corn sent from Phila. It is in Wilmington. I will have some sent to your care at Warrenton to be given to Mr. Ball and family. He can get $50. from the State Treasury on account of the loss of his arm, upon the certificate of yr. Clerk of the County Court or your Shff. Blank forms of this certificate required are

in the hands of your Shff. and Clerk. I have spoken to Mr. Eaton who is here to-day to assist Mr. Ball in getting the money without the trouble of coming here.

To R. M. Stafford.

March 28 1867.

Yours of yesterday is before me.

You will have seen by the orders of Genl Sickles that he does not propose to interfere with the execution of the laws of the State. Until he shall forbid it, it is your duty to proceed in all your duties, as though martial law had not been proclaimed.

I have pardoned Davis with the understanding that the Freedman's Bureau will remove him from the State. The pardon was yesterday sent to Col. Bumford with the view that he present it to you and take charge of the negro for transportation out of the State.

GREENSBORO.

To W. A. Sharkey.[1]

March 28 1867.

Under opinions of judges Black and Ruffin the Council of State decline to make North Carolina a party.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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[1] William A. Sharkey, former Chief Justice of Mississippi, Provisional Governor in 1865, and at this time an applicant for admission to a seat in the U. S. Senate.

To L. E. Parsons.

RALEIGH *Mar. 28/67.*

Decision not to join in opposing the Reconstruction acts.

I asked the opinions of Judges Black and Ruffin as to making North Carolina a party to Judge Sharkey's bill. Each of them doubts whether the Supreme Court will sustain the bill. Each of them thinks it improbable that we can obtain any relief through the Supreme Court. Three members of my Council are eminent lawyers and opposed any effort to resist the laws in question, on the ground that they doubt both the power and the inclination of the Court to give us any relief and think an abortive attempt would impair our influence in the coming elections. The Council decided unanimously against any resort to the Supreme Court.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Thomas Ruffin.

RALEIGH, *Mar. 29/67.*

Political conditions.

I thank you for yr answer to my inquiry as to your opinion on a legal question of momentous importance to the State.

There is remarkable concurrence in the views taken by you and Judge Curtis on the main question submitted both as to the probable decision and the expediency of seeking redress through the Courts. I had arrived at the same conclusion. Notwithstanding the undress in which, for want of time, you had to appear, I laid your letter unofficially before my Council. After due deliberation the Council decided unanimously that it was inexpedient for the State to join in the proceeding. I have not deemed it proper to let it go to the public that we have had the matter under consideration. Our action officially appears on our Journal and there is nothing in it which we desire to con-

ceal, only for the fact that Mississippi may abandon the scheme and as I was possessed of the facts with liberty only to make them known to my Council and discreet legal friends whose opinions I might desire to obtain, I have allowed the press to know only that the Council was called before the passage of the supplemental re-construction bill to consider the expediency of calling together the Genl. A.

I am sorry I cannot possibly find time to give you many facts and conclusions, arrived at by my visit to Richmond and Washington, as also some account of the proceedings of the Holden Conventions yesterday. It consisted of a very numerous assemblage from many, if not most, of the Counties of the State, about half black and half white;—the blacks the more conservative element and their leader J. H. Harris, from all I can understand, the most intelligent, liberal and eloquent man in the body. The leaders, Settle, Dick, Holden, etc. urged and the body organized under the name of the Republican party against the views of such consistent men as Hedrick, Goodloe and a few others who urged the name of the National Union party. It was probable the most radical which has assembled in the United States. It was enthusiastic of success—formed plans of thorough organization in every County in the State and will probably be liberally supplied with money for electioneering purposes from the North. They *avow* their design to elect to the Convention and to Congress men who will co-operate with the majority of Congress and thus insure our re-admission into the Union and the avoiding of confiscation. Many of them avow the most proscription purposes against what they call the leading rebels, among whom they class all who are not adherents of Holden.

This is a most formidable combination. Each County, for itself, must adopt the best measures possible to avert the further calamities which are in store for us, I fear.

Hillsboro.

To Andrew Johnson.

Raleigh, *Mar 29 1867.*

Plans of the opposition in North Carolina.

You are probably appraised that immediately after the publication of the act of the 2nd March inst., Govr. Holden and some of his friends got up the project of electing members to a State Convention by action of the people in primary meetings. After the passage of the supplemental bill which frustrated this purpose, the call for a meeting of delegates here from the whole State, including black as well as white, was continued. The persons active in getting it up claimed to be the par excellence Union men of the State. They met on the 27th and adjourned yesterday evening, the 28th. There was a large number in attendance from most of the Counties of the State, I think about half black and half white. They adopted the name of the Republican party. They avowed their purpose of candid co-operation with the Republican party of the North. All or nearly all of the whites, were followers of Mr. Holden, and advocated last summer the ratification of the constitutional amendment, popularly called the Howard amendment. In their debates and proceedings they evinced the purpose of excelling the Northern Radicals in Radicalism, though a very large majority of the whites and nearly all the leaders among them are disfranchised for participation in the rebellion under the late action of Congress. The hope of attaining political ascendency in the State and the fear of confiscation were probably the chief incentives which controlled their action. They took measures for thorough organization in every County in the State, in order to carry out their designs at the elections—and they expect, as I understand, liberal supplies of money from the North, to aid them in carrying out their purposes.

The great body of the people of the State would like to vote for the best men among us who can take the teste oath and who indulge no malevolence towards their fellow citizens who participated in the late rebellion. I mean

real Union men and not latter day saints—but this great body of the people can adopt no systematic plan of co-operation—have no money—are paralyzed by their accumulated calamities. The issue, under the circumstances, must be regarded as doubtful.

The negroes, so far, are apparently more conservative than the white men who claim to be their special friend. In this organization, of course, there was no kind word for you; but while you are doubtless mortified by the desertion of many sunshine friends it may be of some consolation to you to know that the great majority of the intelligent and patriotic people of this State admire the firmness with which you adhere to you station and duty and regard the record you have made as one of the most enviable which our history will record.

Asking the pardon of certain persons.

I mentioned to you when in Washington a subject about which I may have troubled you too often—but so firm are my convictions that I trust you will pardon me for once more calling your attention to it. It relates to the omission to pardon Gov. Graham, Jo. Turner, B. S. Gaither and Gov. Vance. Every one of these men were as utterly opposed to secession as you were and exerted themselves to their utmost power to avert disunion and war until war was begun, and they were compelled to elect between the evils which beset them. After they did elect to go with the South, each of them was elected to the Confederate Congress and co-operated in good faith with the South. This is the extent of their sin. Are they more in fault than Dortch, Venable, Arrington, Lander, McLean, R. R. Bridgers and Davis, who were ardent secessionists and were also members of the Confederate Congress. I do not disapprove of these latter pardons. I think the granting of them does credit to you as a statesman. All of them are now loyal:—not more loyal than the four unpardoned gentlemen named. Your friends in North Carolina universally complain of the discrimination. I am sure you

would but do an act of magnanimous statesmanship in pardoning these men and that you would thereby warm the hearts of your friends.

There are two other gentlemen, Gov. Clark,—and Owen Kenan whom I should be glad to see pardoned. They are most estimable men and their case no way distinguishable from that of the other four, save that they were secessionists and favored the measures which led to the rebellion.

As I have heretofore said to you, I favor universal amnesty and therefore would not withhold my recommendation of any body:—but if you deem it prudent to withhold your pardon from a few, will not the officers educated at West Point and who joined in the Rebellion, Genl. Clingman, who was a senator in Congress at the breaking out of the war, and Judge Biggs, a district judge of the U. S., who resigned for a like position under the Confederate States, be a sufficient number of victims to reserve?

Govr. Vance, you will remember, was for a time held a prisoner in the old capitol prison at Washington. By your indulgence he was liberated on his parole not to leave the State. If you should decline to pardon him I hope you will relieve him from his parole.

From W. H. Bagley to Worth & Daniel.

April 2nd 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

I am instructed by His Excellency, the Governor, to inform you, that in accordance with an agreement between himself and Col. Bomford, he desires that you will cause to be shipped, as early as practicable, of the corn in your care of the Philadelphia Southern Relief Association, 1200 bushels to Salisbury, consigned to the U. S. Quarter Master at that place—and 1000 bushels to Charlotte, consigned to the U. S. Quarter Master at that place—and 800 bushels to Raleigh, consigned to the U. S. Quarter Master at that place.

The 1000 bushels for Charlotte is for the County of Union—of the 1200 bushels for Salisbury, 700 bushels are for Stanly and 500 bushels for Anson. The remainder (800 bushels) for Raleigh, are intended to be held subject to the wants of other localities as they may be made known hereafter.

Lieut. Means, A. Q. M. in your City will furnish you transportation on the Rail Roads, and other assistance in the shipping, as directed by Col. Bumford.

Any expense which may be necessary in shipping, drayage, etc. will be met by this department on presentation of bill for the same.

Wilmington.

To Rev. Landy Wood.

Apl 2 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

Yours of the 26th ult. with others of like character, is before me, and deeply touch my feelings. All these charitable associations, which are in correspondence with me, make me and Col. Bomford, chief of the Freedman's Bureau in this State, their agents for the distribution of their bounty, the object being, I suppose, that destitute negroes as well as whites shall receive their share. We appoint a joint commission in each County to which we send corn (nothing else but corn has been sent us)—to distribute it. A benevolent association of ladies of New York sent us, a month ago 3000 bu. of corn. It reached Wilmington some 4 weeks ago. My information led me to believe that the Counties of Union and Stanly were more destitute than any others. The bulk of the donation was accordingly ordered to those Counties.

The F's Bureau undertook to give free transportation on the R. R. To my great surprise I now find that through the fault of the officer of the Bureau or of the R. R. that the corn was not started from Wilmington till a day or two ago.

3000 bush. more of corn was purchased recently in Wilmington by a Phila. benevolent association and placed at our disposal. 1000 bush. of this latter lot is ordered to Charlotte for your County.

WOLFESVILLE, UNION CO.

From W. H. Bagley to Daniel Freeman.

April 2 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

I am instructed by the Governor to inform you that he and Col. Bomford have ordered 700 bushels of corn, from the Philadelphia Southern Relief Association, to be shipped for Salisbury, consigned to the U. S. Q. Master at that place, for the use of the destitute of Stanly County. The 1000 bushels heretofore ordered for your County has been shipped, after an inexcusable delay on the part of some one, and has doubtless reached Salisbury before this. The Governer begs that you will superintend the distribution of the last lot as well as the first.

ALBEMARLE.

From W. H. Bagley to L. L. Polk.

April 2nd 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

I am instructed by the Governor to inform you that he and Col. Bomford have ordered 500 bushels of corn from the Philadelphia Southern Relief Association, to be shipped for Salisbury, consigned to the U. S. Q. Master at that place, for the use of the destitute of Anson County. The 300 bushels heretofore ordered for your County has been shipped, after an inexcusable delay on the part of someone, and has doubtless reached Charlotte before this. This lot has been ordered to Salisbury because we learn it is most convenient to your County. The Governor begs

that you will superintend the distribution of the last lot as well as the first.

LANESBORO.

To George V. Strong.[1]

Apl 2 1867.

Both Judge Curtis and Judge Ruffin were of opinion that relief was not likely to be obtained through the Supreme Court, in which all my Council concurred.—Mr. Eaton had considered the question a good deal and was very decidedly against making the State a party to the suit.

Send me amt of yr expenses on trip to Washington.

GOLDSBORO.

From W. H. Bagley to John Welsh.

April 6th 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

I am instructed by His Excellency, the Governor, to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 22nd ultimo, addressed to himself and Col. Bomford, advising them that you had designated Messrs Worth & Daniel, Wilmington, to provide 3000 bushels of corn at the instance of the citizens of Philadelphia, for distribution among the destitute and suffering of this State.

Simultaneous with your letter came one from Messrs. Worth & Daniel, containing the same information, informing us that they had the corn subject to our orders. I have the pleasure, at the same time, to inform you that the corn is now on its way from Wilmington to the destitute.

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[1] George V. Strong, of Wayne county, a noted lawyer. He was a member of the convention of 1861, and was Confederate District Attorney during the entire war.

It has been distributed as follows:—

1000	bushels	to	Union	County
750	"	"	Stanly	"
500	"	"	Anson	"

Making 2200 bushels. The remaining 800 bushels have been shipped to this place, to be held to meet any further demand from other localities. Great destitution prevails in the above named counties, especially the first two named—in the first of which two they are begging *bread*, and many seem contented when they only get *that*. There is considerable suffering in other portions of the State—but it is not to be compared with that of the counties named, owing to an utter failure of the crops in those counties.

The Governor thanks you, in the name of our people, and, through you, the benevolent citizens of Philadelphia, for their patriotic remembrance in the hour of our people's trial—and he hopes that those who know so well when and how to give, may always, under the blessings of Heaven, have an abundance out of which to give.

Philadelphia, Pa.

From W. H. Bagley to David Worth.

April 8th 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

The citizens of Philadelphia having contributed a considerable amount of corn for the destitute of this State, Gov. Worth and Col. Bomford have directed 200 bu. of it to be sold for the benefit of the destitute of Ashe County, and the money to be sent to you—with which you are requested by them to buy corn, or other supplies, and distribute among those of your County whom you know to be destitute. Please inform the Governor of the best mode to get the money to you.

North Fork.

From W. H. Bagley to P. T. Horton.

April 9th 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

You have been appointed by the Governor to superintend the purchase of some corn for the destitute in Wilkes. Of the corn contributed by the citizens of Philadelphia for the destitute of this State, Gov. Worth and Col. Bomford have ordered 200 bushels to be sold for the benefit of Wilkes and the money will be sent to you and the County Court Clerk to buy other corn with, to be distributed by you and the Clerk among those whom you may know to be needy. The money will be sent by Maj. Johnston, U. S. Q. Master for this State—and you will do well to confer with the Clerk at once.

Wilkesboro.

From W. H. Bagley to J. C. Turrentine.

April 9th 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

In response to your letter to the Governor of yesterday 150 bushels of corn have been ordered to be shipped to Hillsboro for the destitute of Orange—and you have been appointed by the Governor to act, on his part, in its distribution, with Lt. Porter, Agt. of the Bureau, who has been named by Col. Bumford to act with you.

The utter *destitution* of Union and Stanly Counties has made it a *necessity* that most of the contributions which have been received, should be sent to them.

Hillsboro.

From W. H. Bagley to C. M. Moss.

April 9th 1867.

Relief of the destitute.

Your letter to the Governor of the 7th inst. in regard to the suffering of your County has been received. The Govr. and Col. Bomford have ordered 150 bushels of corn

to be shipped at once for Lexington—and the Governor has appointed you to aid in its distribution, with the agent of the F. Bureau in Lexington, who has been appointed by Col. Bomford.

Clemmonsville.

From W. H. Bagley to Mrs. Melvina Wolf.

April 13th 1867.

I am informed by the Governor that he has ordered 10 bushels of corn to be shipped to your address at High Point. When it shall have arrived, please acknowledge its receipt.

Bethania.

From W. H. Bagley to Mrs. R. C. Pritchard.

Raleigh, *April 18th 1867.*

Relief of the destitute.

In response to your letter of the Governor of the 26th ultimo, in regard to the necessities of Mr. Rob. Ball of your neighborhood, I am instructed to inform you that the Governor has directed that twenty (20) bushels of the corn contributed to the destitute of this State by the Philadelphia Southern Relief Association, be shipped to your address, the greater part of which he desires that you will convey to Mr. Ball. The Chairman of the Warden Court of your County has informed the Governor that there is an old negro in your County entirely destitute—and it is desired that the remainder be turned over to the Chairman for the benefit of this old negro. The Governor wishes you to divide the twenty bushels between the two parties referred to their necessities and respective wants. The Chairman or the Warden will be notified of this and requested to call on you for the portion which you may allot to the negro. The corn will be shipped to Warrenton in the course of a day or two.

The Governor regrets his inability to do more, but trusts this amount will afford at least temporary relief.

Warrenton.

To Clinton A. Cilley.[1]

Apl 18 1867.

Yours of the 14th inst. is just received.

I know nothing of the matter to which you refer save what I learn from your letter.

I view with absolute abhorrence the vindictive feeling too often exhibited by bad men on both sides of the late suicidal war and will be always ready personally and officially to do any thing I may properly do to defeat the devilish machinations of these bad men. I honor you for your manly purposes. I know no means by which I can ascertain whether the information you received be reliable or not.

To George V. Strong.

Apl 19 1867.

Inclosed find my check on J. G. Williams & Co. for sixty three dollars, your expenses on trip to Washington City. Please acknowledge receipt of same.

I am more and more satisfied that our joining in the Mi.[2] bill would have had no tendency to relieve us from military despotism.

The measures taken in the case of Wood, of yr. place, as I understand them, amount to little less than contempt of the Executive authority of the State. It is bad enough

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[1] Clinton A. Cilley was a native of New Hampshire, a colonel in the Federal army during the war, and afterwards a superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau in Salisbury. He married and settled in the State, and at Governor Worth's request was appointed a Judge of the Superior Court.

[2] Mississippi.

to have our authority condemned by the United States. I did not expect it from our own people.

GOLDSBORO.

From W. H. Bagley to Rev. H. T. Hudson.

April 19th 1867.

I am instructed by the Governor to inform you that he is in receipt of a large quantity of supplies, contributed by the State of Maryland, to the destitute and suffering of this State; and looking to the impartial and just distribution of the same, he respectfully invites you to meet the pastors of other Churches of this City, in his office, to-day at 12 o'clock, M, to advise with him in regard thereto. Relief of the destitute.

RALEIGH, N. C.

From W. H. Bagley to D. M. Barringer.

April 19th 1867.

I am instructed by the Governor to request you to meet him and the pastors of the different Churches of this City, at his office, at 12 o'clock M, to-day, to consult with reference to the distribution of the supplies contributed by the State of Maryland to the destitute and suffering of this State.

RALEIGH.

To Z. B. Vance.

Apl 20 1867.

You may take the oaths before the Comr. of Affidavits—but you had better take them before your notary public or the clerk of one of your Courts who can verify his action by his official seal.

I have pleasure in believing that I at least put the ball in motion which brought about your pardon.

CHARLOTTE.

To D. G. Worth.

April 27 1867.

Mail contracts.

The mail line from here to Fayetteville is broken up by the failure of the contractors for the carrying of the mails to perform their undertaking. Fayetteville and the surrounding country is thus cut off from mail facilities. Dr. Jobe goes to Wilmington on Monday and will probably carry with him the accumulated mail for Fayetteville and the surrounding country. He is disposed to do everything which can reasonable be expected from him to grant to our people all the mail facilities we can justly expect:—but he has no power, at present, to make any contract, binding on the government, as to the transmission of the mails on the C. F. river. He will recommend the carrying of the mail on the *Host,* twice a week, at such price as the government may deem adequate. Whether such contract will be so stringent that we cannot undertake it, in view of the low state of the river at certain seasons cannot now be known—and whether you could make arrangements to have the Gov. Worth to make one weekly trip at a stated time, so as to carry the mail tri-weekly, I do not know. If the price paid be adequate, I think it should be carried tri-weekly. I hope you will carry up the mail Dr. Jobe takes with him, whether we get any pay or not—and continue to carry it until some definite arrangement can be made.

Dr. Jobe is a most estimable gentleman and I recommend you and our Company to confer with him unreservedly on the whole matter—and to aid, as far as may be done without serious detriment to our interests, in supplying the Cape Fear region with the mail.

WILMINGTON.

To W. F. Leak.

RALEIGH, *Apl 29/67.*

Your several letters pressing on my attention the destitution in yr. County have been recd and referred to the commission I have been forced to raise to attend to the distribution of charitable donations, placed under my control, because my imperative administrative duties made it quite impossible for me to carry out properly the beneficent designs of these donors. Of this Com. Col. D. M. Barringer is Chr who has probably ordered some of these supplies to your care. Destitution in the State.

I still think no State organization to counter-act the malevolent designs of Holden and his faction, can work well. Gentlemen in each County and neighborhood can best manage the matter, without organization.

ROCKINGHAM.

From S. S. Jackson.

PITTSBORO, N. C. *April 29th 1867.*

Brother Jack has just shown me a letter, that he has written you relative to my applying for the office of Register of Bankruptcy in my district. I am really conscious of having opposed the war from the beginning to the *end:* and nothing would disqualify me from taking the oath, except being *Clerk and Master* and the danger of being somewhat *discountenanced:*—Before I went further with the matter, I wish to get your *view* of the matter:—and if in your *judgment* it would not be *improper,* I would like for you to address a letter to Hedrick and ask him to *intercede* and at an early day. I will have all the necessary testimonials in *Washington City*—

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *Apr. 30, 67.*

Dr Hawkins has sent me a pass for my family to go and return over the Raleigh and Gaston R. R. If the Central R. R. should give a similar pass please send it to Henry C. Thompson, Chapel Hill. My family will be in Raleigh Thursday evening, but will not stop over as they wish to go on to Chapel Hill.

In haste.

From David G. Worth.

WILMINGTON, N. C. *April 30th 1867.*

Mail facilities.

Your letter per hands of Dr. Jobe was reed this morning. We dont think we could safely contract to carry a tri-weekly mail as the *"Govr. Worth"* cannot run on regular days, without at times great inconvenience. We would willingly carry a Semi-weekly mail by the *"Host"* at a fair price. We now carry a large amt of mail for nothing, and have been doing so for two years past. Dr. Jobe went off on the *Host* today to confer with the Fayetteville people and will decide when he returns what to do. We proposed to him to carry the mail for a short time, for nothing if necessary to accommodate the people of Fayetteville and surrounding country. He took the mail with him today. If we agree to take it for *nothing,* it is necessary for some one take it in charge, who can swallow the *iron clad.* We have no one on board who can do this except the *freedmen.* Capt. Skinner tried it today but it *wouldn't go down*—

Have you ever sent commissions to Lindsay, Waugh, Robbins & McKethan, appointed by you as State Directors for Western R. R. Co.

We are all very well.

To Henry T. Clark.

Raleigh, *Apl 30/67.*

I have had no other report save yours expressing the opinion that Registers could not be found. You know, if you recommend none, men will be sent from the army. Surely you can find some Northern men, who are not mean radicals, if you can't find natives. I beg you to try to find some men who will be more acceptable to your people than negroes or radical Yankees. Home Radical Confiscation Holden men are the most detestable of all men.

Tarboro.

To Z. F. Rush.

April 30 1867.

Yours of the 28th as also a previous one in relation to the Sheriffalty have been recd. On the day of the receipt of your first I wrote to Genl. Sickles, desiring to know whether he would allow the Court to fill the vacancy—and if so, whether he would require the next incumbent to take the teste oath—And if he desired to fill the vacancy, whether he desired me to recommend any one—and if, in making such recommendation, I must look only to persons who could take the teste. I expressed my wishes that he should leave the whole matter with the Court. I have not yet received an answer.

You ask my opinion whether the office is vacant. It seems clear to me that the Court will declare it vacant. In my opinion you should have continued to act as Shff. until the Court should declare the office vacant—This an offhand opinion.

If I did not answer your former letter, I did not neglect to attend to it. It is impossible for me to answer half the letters I receive, but I endeavor to answer all where an answer seems necessary. Until I have heard from Genl.

Sickles it did not occur to me that my answer would do any good.

ASHEBORO.

To H. J. Harris.

RALEIGH *Apl 30 1867.*

Vacancies in county offices.

After hearing of the vacancy of the Sheriffalty in Randolph and vacancies of Clerkships in other Counties, I addressed to Genl. Sickles an inquiry whether he claimed the right to fill such vacancies or would leave it to the Courts to fill them—Whether the appointees must take the Congressional teste oath—and whether, in the event of his claiming to fill such vacancies he desired from me any recommendation. I recommended that he allow our Courts to execute our laws without any interference—and if he desired me to recommend that he allow me to ascertain the wishes of a majority of the justices. I have not recd his answer.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

To H. H. Helper.

May 2 1867.

I most heartily concur in the views expressed in yours of the 30th ult and beg you to accept my thanks for your friendly and valuable suggestions and will, when you come down, frankly show you all I have done and the responses recd. from the gentlemen whose co-operation I have asked.

I think I shall be compelled to leave here next Saturday morning on very important executive business and may not be able to get back before next Tuesday night. I am very anxious to see you and therefore mention this that you may try to time your visit so that I may see you.

I am conscious in this matter of recommendation of

Registers, and in all my conduct, to have acted solely on the elevated motives covering my position, and equally conscious that an evil genius who unceasingly endeavors to malign me, will leave nothing undone, which greed and malevolence can effect, to frustrate my efforts to serve the State. I feel therefore greatly gratified at you at your professed co-operation with me in defeating these vicious machinations.

SALISBURY.

To Thomas S. Kenan.

May 2 1867.

Plans of the Radicals to control Reconstruction.

The vilest machinations are on foot to try to alienate Genl. Sickles from me and get Registers appointed to suit the malevolent purposes of bad men among us. I am satisfied—at least have good reason to hope—that I shall be sustained. To this end it is desirable to appoint in each County one or more U. S. soldiers, or officer of the F.s Bureau—or Northern man, where such a *one can be found who is a gentleman not indulging malevolence towards us and not afflicted with negrophobia.* Minors will be allowed to act but should not be nominated, except as a dernier resort.

You will refer the R. R. to me for their freight bill.

KENANSVILLE.

To Luke Blackmer.

May 2nd 1867.

Plans of the Radicals to control Reconstruction.

I am notified of machinations on foot to defeat the ratification of my nominess as registers. I desire only the nomination of honest and competent men. The scheming villains who are trying to undermine Genl. Sickles' confidence in my recommendations, and get registers appointed to subserve partizan purposes, will be much disarmed if

a good many of my nominations be Northern men, or U. S. soldiers, now in service, or honorably discharged—or officers of the Freedmen's Bureau. There are in some of the Counties some of these classes who *are gentlemen, indulging no malevolence towards our people—and not afflicted with negrophobia.* I would like to have some such men appointed. In your County I suggest H. H. Helper as one.

SALISBURY.

To James L. Orr.

May 3 1867.

Concerning the appointment of registers.

I have had answers from a large number of Counties recommending Registers. I have thought the managers at each election precinct, while registering, could make the most judicious selection of managers. We have some 1000 election precincts in this State. If three judges of election and two clerks be required at each precinct, this will require some 5000 names. To find this number and ascertain from each of them whether he can take the teste oath, would require much inquiry and can be done with more facility by the Registers, while discharging their duties, than in any other way which has occurred to me.

Just as my agents had got under way a circular was issued by Genl Miles, chief of the Freedmen's Bureau in this State, to his subordinates in the several Counties, requiring them to report three fit men as registers for each County, *of whom one must be a negro*—and also managers of the elections at the several precincts. I have not a copy before me. It required some proportion of military and freedman's bureau men. It does not purport to have been issued by the order or at the request of Genl. Sickles, but it is not presumable that Genl Miles would have issued such an order without the order or approval of Genl. Sickles, and on this assumption I do not know what construction to put on it. If it is designed to put Genl. S. in making his selection between my nominations and those

of Genl. Miles, and if Genl. S. require some proportion of negroes on these boards, it is singular that he did not intimate to us such requirement. I sent Genl. S. a copy of the order of Genl. Miles, but asked for no explanation.

I have deemed it my duty to send Genl. S. sundry inquiries of lawyers and others as to the construction of his orders. He has not answered them. I sent him a copy of Circular, with my suggestion that the Registers, when nominated by him, be requested to recommend the managers of the elections. I have received no answer to any communication I have sent him since I left Charleston. Holden and his followers will do all that unscrupulous malevolence can do, to prejudice Genl S. against me. Is it possible they have effected their object? It is unjust to Genl S., perhaps, to suppose he would allow any representation to operate to undermine his confidence in me, without giving me an opportunity of repelling it.

From the intimate personal relations between you and Genl Sickles and the cordial candor you have exhibited towards me, I venture to ask you to apprise me, if you may properly do, if you know of any thing which has estranged Genl. S. from me. I am solicitous about this because to be of as much service to my people as I can during my continuance in office, and if the General shall become prejudiced against me it will impair my usefulness.

I believe you know that Holden is the most malignant, mean, unscrupulous Radical the Devil has raised up to afflict our people and he pursues me with increasing malice.

Has the Bureau in your State issued orders similar to Miles'?

COLUMBIA, S. C.

From Henry T. Clark.

Tarboro, N. Caro. *May 6th 1867.*

Appointment of registers.

You misunderstood me if you considered me as giving the opinion that no one could be found in our County, who could take the oath prescribed for Register. I should have said that none of our own citizens, resident here during the War, could take it. And I repeat it, that as far as *I know,* or can learn *from enquiry,* that not a single man residing in Edgecomb during the War who can read or write, that did not commit himself to the cause. Not even John Norfleet, who is now a *Radical,* and has the singular luck of being a favorite with both *yourself* and *Holden,* can take it or act under it.

But we have citizens here *now* who have settled here since the peace (so-called), who are regarded as *good citizens,* too, who can take the oath—from such I propose to select persons that I can recommend to you or Genl. Sickles, as Register of Votes. We can appreciate a man who lived north, and could not sympathize with our struggle, and even fought against us, But a traitor to his own home cant be trusted or respected. A northern Radical is still our enemy, open, undisguised, unforgiving, acting under prejudices which were once natural, or connected with his cause, in some instances, but in most cases, ties of *fanaticism*—born without reason and nurtured by its own passions. Blood is its natural food, and unless checked will come again to that issue. But *Southern Radicals* are meaner, worse, and utterly devoid of even a pretence of virtue—selfish, tyrannical and Ismaelitish, abandoned.

Now Sir, if I could find a Southerner in our midst who could take *that oath,* he could not get a support here for the meanest employment. They are the worst of Radicals, Polecat sneaks.

But a northern man with conservative principles and views, I take by the hand as a fellow countryman and place in his hands the affairs of trust.

Our people went in unanimously for their independence; they failed—they were conquered, and they now submit in sincerity and good faith to their situation—they will avail themselves of any means or opportunities, fairly and legally offered them to *better their condition,* and are disposed to give their aid and assistance where allowed. They are yielding with surprising facility *equal rights* to our colored population, but they cant go social equality yet, and detest the hyprocrisy of those who are encouraging it for their selfish views.

Lt. Allison came down and consulted me with regard to persons he was instructed to recommend to the Head of Bureau (Raleigh) for Register of Voters. He was required to name three for each election precinct, one to be a colored man. He had selected Bennett for the Rocky Mt. precinct, and McCabe for this precinct, with a colored man in each. He hesitated between three colored men in one town, Simonton, David Harris and Thomas Newton, and finally selected Harris, a bro of James Harris—the Speaker of yr city. The Deportment and Sentiments of all three of these colored men *seems* very fair and proper. In fact we have been very fortunate in our county. The two races have got along remarkably well. The colored are generally kept at work. There have been few or no collisions of any kind and apparently they mutually trust each other. If Radicalism has got among us, it has not yet shown its head.

The Radical Convention (Ral. 27 March) attracted no attention here. John Norfleet and Col. Knapp were volunteers and self-constituted delegates from Edgecombe, and their aid and support of that conv and cause is kept out of our view. John Norfleet is smart, cool, very prudent, and *silent* but *feels intensely,* and will always be ready when an opportunity offers—a dangerous man in a bad cause. Col. Knapp is an Ex-Col of a Nigger Regiment and an Ex-Methodist Preacher—boasts more of his sense in the pulpit as a political parson than in the field

The Radical Convention.

of Battle—a real Yankee in his politics, his morals and his feelings, a great speculator. *He is ambitious, conceits himself a great orator,* and now is an *aspirant for Governor.*

These were the men who committed Edgecomb to the Radical care on 27 March last—and one of them stands in this community *endorsed* by yourself as well as Holden. We are used to swallow bitter pills, but not *from our friends.*

I have written this letter to you on the frankness of an old friend, and not intended for your public files, which I hope you will observe.

I have written a second letter recommending persons to be appointed Register, which is for public use, to aid you in discharge of a public duty.

[P. S.]—In the recommendation I only used the initial letter of the names of Bennett and Allison, because I know only the name as they sign it. I will send you the *full name* as soon as I can learn them.

To J. H. Osborne.

Raleigh *May 6th 1867.*

Immediately on receipt of your letter of the 14th ult. I asked Genl. Sickles for his decision on the case. I have recd no answer save the general one in the form of a new "Ordinance," declining to put any interpretation upon his "Ordinance," but declaring the *Courts* must interpret.

I am therefore, unable to advise you, as my interpretation of the order would not have any efficiency.

Rockingham.

To D. F. Caldwell.

RALEIGH, *May 6th 1867.*

Concerning the punishment for crime.

Genl. Sickles assured me he would not regard the confining of a criminal to labor on roads etc. by ball and chain as falling within the prohibition of his order. He would regard the confinement as a means of securing the labor and not as a punishment. This was an oral assurance. I sent him a copy of our late acts and called his attention especially to our late act for working our criminals on the roads. I have recd no reply since the general one to the public in which he declines to give any interpretation to his "ordinances," but refers parties to our Courts for their interpretation. He says he will answer inquiries from our appellate Courts—which Courts during the continuance of the present government of the State (if it be as short as we hope for) not like to have any cases to decide, involving the solution of the obscure points in his *"ordinances."*

The negro Davis has escaped from the military and is probably in Ohio by this time—so you will not be troubled further with him.

I should have written you sooner and more at length now, if incessant pressure of other duties would allow.

GREENSBORO.

To N. Kelsey.

May 7 1867.

Not being able to answer your inquiries satisfactorily—and being pressed with a heavy correspondence I have delayed answering yours of the 19th ult, in the hope of answering more definitely.

I have good reason to *hope*—and to believe that the clique to which you refer will not accomplish their object.

I early addressed Genl Sickles to ascertain what measures would be adopted to for a definite construction of the

disfranchising features of the late re-construction acts—and am informed that the Atto. Genl. of the U. S. is preparing an opinion, which will appear shortly and by which all the military commandants will be guided.

Genl Sickles requested me to recommend fit men for Registers. I took measures to carry out his request. In the interim, the Chief of the Freedman's Bureau has issued his circular to his subordinates, requesting them to recommend registers. Whether this is done with the approval of Genl. Sickles or not, I am ignorant. I am proceeding to collect the names—am ready to recommend for about half the State and hope to be able to report for the whole State within the next two weeks.

Ivy.

To Major Worth.

May 7 1867.

I am informed by Ralph Gorrell, Esq that Genl. Sickles has issued an order to you, authorising you to take into your possession all the effects and assets of the Bank of Lexington and deliver over to a receiver, when one shall be appointed—and that the General desires my recommendation to be transmitted through you, before he will appoint such receiver.

I think the most fit man to be appointed receiver, is F. C. Robbins, Clerk and Master in Equity for Davidson County.

At the request of Mr. Gorrell I address this communication to you.

Greensboro.

To his brother.

May 8 1867.

I accept with many thanks the likeness of our beloved mother. It, together with one I had before, will be preserved and cherished. When I do any thing commanding the plaudits of good men, the thought that my good mother is no longer here to enjoy it, casts a shade on my own gratification.

You may well imagine, that under the absolute despotism, now established here under an act of Congress, enforced by military authority, under the ridiculous pretence of restoring Republican government, I have a difficult part to perform, to preserve any semblance of dignity as Governor of the State. You will have learned that I have issued no proclamation and avoided any commentary on a state of things about which I could not conceal my disgust, if I were to say any thing, at the same time conscious that the expression of any manly sentiment on my part, would deprive my people of the little influence I now have to mitigate the severity of military despotism, I would probably accomplish no good—and might do mischief. Hence I shall say or write little.

To J. J. Jackson.

Raleigh, *May 8th 1867.*

By way of encouraging domestic manufacture and giving a slight token of kindness to my children I have bought enough cloth of the Rock Island Mfg. Co., to make a suit of clothes for myself, my son, and each of my sons-in-law, which will be forwarded to them by the first convenient opportunity.

To Henry T. Clark.

May 9 1867.

Feeling towards the Radicals.

I thank you for nomination of Registers for Edgecombe, which I regard as very judicious.

I cordially assent to all your reasoning as to fit men to fill offices in North Carolina. You do not detest more than I do, a proscriptive Southern Radical, and I regard yr. remark that Mr. Norfleet seemed to enjoy the singular good fortune of being a favorite of both Holden and myself as pretty severe. I believe I have had a passing introduction to him—but have no acquaintance with him. I knew that in 1865 he voted for Holden, as did many good men from the idea that such vote would please the President and tend to bring about real pacification. When it became my duty last year to appoint directors for the R. Rs. I resolved to continue in their places the few Holden men, fit for their positions, who had voted for him for *expediency,* but who did not participate in his malevolence towards the great body of our people. I made special inquiry as to Mr. Norfleet—of more than one—the only one I can remember, was Mr. Fremont, who assured me Mr. Norfleet was not a *real Radical.* Mr. Fremont and all others who approached me, knew I would not appoint to *any position* a real radical—one who *hated* and would persecute those who belonged to the Secession party. I was assured Mr. Norfleet did not belong to this class. His attendance on the late Holden Convention satisfies me my friends were mistaken.

Tarboro.

To George Howard.

Raleigh, *May 11 1867.*

Appointment of registers.

I have good reason to believe that my nominations of Registers, made at the request of Genl. Sickles, will be adopted instead of those made by Genl. Miles, at the in-

stance, as I believe, of W. W. Holden. I have had answers, nominating men in most of the Counties. Mr. Hines, of Wilson, is the only one who reports that he cannot find suitable men who can take the test oath. If I fail to recommend, officers of the U. S. army, or ultra radicals recommended by Genl Miles will probably be appointed. If no suitable man, who is a resident of the County can be found, I am authorised to nominate men from some other County. I wish you would co-operate with Mr. Hines and recommend at an early day three men. If there be no Northern man, settled in Wilson who is not a radical, would it not be well to nominate some fair minded Quakers from some other Counties rather than have a negro and two ultra radicals?

I specially asked Genl. Sickles, in case of being unable to find registers in any County, not willing to take the teste oath, whether Quakers, from some other Counties, would not be acceptable to him. He said they would. I suppose worthy members of this specific people, would be less odious and more likely to act justly, than foreign radicals.

TARBORO.

To A. M. Tomlinson.

RALEIGH *May 15 1867.*

Relief of the needy.

Yours of the 10th inst. was received yesterday evening's mail.

Finding it impossible to attend to the proper dispensation of the donations committed to my charge for the use of the indigent of this State, I obtained the consent of D. M. Barringer and the ministers of the four principal churches in this city, to take the labor off my hands. All that has been committed to my charge, they have control over. I will turn over your letter to them.

In obedience to a resolution of the Genl. Assembly last

winter, I sent a circular to the Chairman of the Warden Court of every County in the State, asking for information as to the extent of destitution which the County could not relieve. A number reported that they needed no aid. Some 20 counties asked for more or less help; and to these has been sent what was committed to my charge. Much the larger number (including Randolph) made no report. It was presumed that the Counties making no report needed no assistance. Hence Randolph, as you say, "has been overlooked". Nothing can be more embarrassing than the distribution of a bounty, inadequate to the wants of all, *throughout the State.* There has been neither carelessness nor improper discrimination in the distribution of this bounty—but for want of proper information, I do not doubt that the more unfortunate have got too much and the more modest and needy have often been "overlooked." If Randolph has been overlooked it must be attributed to the failure of the authorities to report its needs. If any body supposes that the [*illegible*] of a majority of its people [*illegible*] and the malevolence which they have shown towards me have in this matter had the *slightest* influence, such person does not understand me. My *sole object has been to distribute the donations confided to my discretion where there was the most urgent want.* I have referred your letter to the gentlemen above indicated with my endorsement that your representations are entitled to implicit confidence.

Bush Hill.

From M. McRae.

Shoe Heel Robeson Co., *May 16th 1867.*

Concerning James Sinclair.

I have concluded not merely on my own account or personal knowledge and observation of *wrongs* but from the complaint and suggestions of other good and influential citizens to bring to your notice grieviances and annoyances

under which we are suffering.—hoping that by your mediation we may obtain redress at the hands of the powers that be, or in other words we wish to appeal through you to Gen. Sickles and ask him for sake of peace, harmony and humanity to do something for a people who are disposed to be as loyal and law abiding as any people from Maine to Texas. But we are now disturbed by a *pestilent fellow* whom if you do not know personally you perhaps know from reputation by the name of James Sinclair—*Col. Sinclair*—or the *fighting Parson.* He has now got to be one of the *blackest* radicals in the country and for some time now he has been causing the negroes to assemble in large crowds to hear his speeches which are quite incendiary in their character tending to alienate the blacks and the whites.

We have been getting along very well in this section up to this time both whites and blacks but now in consequence of his interference and constant harangues the blacks and whites both are more or less excited—he is a man of the very lowest character and perfectly destitute of all principle. I heard him in a speech the other day say that his *portion* was now that of the negroes and that it was to his interest to make the best of it he could—he also advises the negro to vote the Radical ticket and that by so doing they will secure confiscation and a division of the lands or something like that—and I understand in more ignorant crowds he tells them not to list the taxes and as one of the list-takers, I find considerable apathy among the colored people and but very few of them have listed owing to a great extent to his teaching.

He had at Shoe Heel on last Saturday where I heard him speak *other* free negroes who made quite incendiary speeches to a very large assembly of blacks one of whom in speaking of the rights of the negro said that the minds of many whites both North and South had been perplexed as to what they would do with the negro but before ten years he said the question would be what would the negro

do with the Southern white man—he further said that the negro should stand up for his rights at all hazard that the negro should not leave the country and the whites could not do without them that a gentleman near Wilmington had made the experiment of foreign emigrants to the exclusion of the negro and that soon his premises were reduced to ashes—as much as to say the negro was entitled to the labor, *and would have it.* The Southern people were very much ridiculed and denounced as cowards. This is but a brief synopsis of what was said and in fact it was almost intolerable to bear and if something is not done to prevent such and stop such men from traveling over the country calling the laboring class from their labor and thereby retarding what little progress we have been making the country will soon be in a more horrible condition than it is now, we can't make crops or anything else if these miserable vagabonds who have nothing to do themselves are permitted to disturb and harrass the industrious hard working man—one of the speakers said he would not advise them to steal something to eat but if they were *needy they ought to get it* (that is steal it).

Now Gov. if it is in your power to do anything in this matter I hope you will go to work especially in regard to the poor miserable devil—Sinclair. Please let me hear from you.

I am truly yours with high consideration

[P. S.]—Address me at Shoe Heel Robeson County, N. C.

To B. S. Gaither.

May 16 1867.

Concerning appointment of registers.

Your letters as to registers for Burke embarrases me. You speak of two U. S. soldiers as "the best under the circumstances" but do not give their names. The action of the Freedmen's Bureau, I presume, is officious, and

I have reason to hope my nominations will be adopted. Make the best nominations you can conformably to my suggestion in my order of the 20th Apl. *My* instructions do not require a negro in the board. Select your men with the sole view of their fitness and qualification, and in conformity with the directions of my circular, a copy of which was sent to Genl. Sickles immediately after its issue. The most villainous machinations are on foot to defeat my nominations. These machinations will fail if my agents nominate, as they generally have, unexceptionable men.

I have definite recommendations from Yancey and Currituck—but cannot report for want of reports from a few Counties much nearer the seat of government.

I hope you will report promptly, distinctly recommending registers—or declaring your inability to do so. No agent has reported his inability to find men whom he could recommend.

Surely you can find three honorable men—natives or foreigners—who can take the oath and who would impartially perform their duty. If such cannot be found *in* the County, it is better to recommend somebody *out* of it, rather than make no recommendation—and thereby leave the matter to malevolent partizans.

MORGANTON.

To C. A. Cilley.

May 16 1867.

Yours of the 10th inst. is received.

A mystery hangs over the circular of Genl. Miles. Immediately upon its issue I sent a copy of it to Genl. Sickles, without inquiry or comment. He has made no remarks on it to me. Whether it was issued at his instance or with his knowledge I am ignorant—but I have pretty strong reason to believe it was done without his concurrence—or as a

shield against radical abuse,—and that my recommendations will be generally adopted.

Genl. Sickles has not indicated to me his wish that any negroes should be appointed registers—but his silence since the issue of Genl. Miles' circular is a mystery.

Lenoir.

Bureau of R. F. & A. L.
Kinston Lenoir Co., N. C.
May 16th 1867.

Maj. Gen. N. A. Miles
Asst. Comr. Bu. R. F. & A. L.
Raleigh N. C.

General

Concerning a petition for a special term of court.

I have the honor to state that a petition has been forwarded from this County to His Excellency Gov. Worth, praying for an order to hold an extra session of the Superior Court in this County. This petition was based upon the fact, that the county now being overrun with criminals of every grade, who bid defiance to all law, and in fact control the interests and destiny of the County. Our jail is flooded with them, while many of the worst are still at large. Murder, arson, burglary, highway robbery and larceny seems to be the rule and owing to the impoverished condition of the people, and the wide spread influence of these scoundrels the law is impotent to protect the property or even the lives of the citizens. That petition would have my signature most cordially, as I know their great need, but I have thought that I could better subserve the ends of justice, by addressing you, and with that in view, I respectfully petition your co-operation with His Excellency in trying to protect the people.

I would respectfully state, that the jail is insecure and insufficient and I have every reason to believe, that a desperate attempt is being concocted to liberate those who are there confined, by desperadoes not yet arrested.

It is believed and I am well aware that there are three gangs of "Regulators" in this and the adjoining counties viz: one of whites, one of blacks, and the third (and by far the worst) is made up of both whites and blacks.

There being no jail in Jones Co. the prisoners from that county are sent here, and that county is overrun with "Regulators."

I would respectfully state, General, that if something is not done speedily, earnestly and effectually to suppress these high handed outrages and bring the offenders to speedy trial, where unrelenting justice may be dealt out, the county in this section at least is ruined.

The people have become intimidated by this high handed lawlessness, and dare not speak of a crime, even where they know the perpetrators. To do so, would be at the risk of a robbery, an arson or their lives.

These matters are vividly manifest to me, and for that reason I urgently, but very respectfully petition in behalf of the citizens of this County your co-operation with His Excellency the Governor.

I have the honor to remain

Very Respectfully

Your Obt. Servant

(Signed) H. H. FOSTER

Brvt. Maj. U. S. Vols.

Asst. Supt. Bu. R. F. & A. L.

True Copy.

(Signed) JACOB F. CHUR

Brvt. Lieut. Colonel

A. A. A. General

To P. Durham.

May 18 1867.

Yours of the 15th inst. is recd.

You state that the patient, Kindnask, (as I read it) was regularly sent to the L. Asylum as a State patient. I

suppose you mean as an indigent patient, chargeable to the County.

If this be the case the justices of your Court were bound, as I understand the law, to impose a tax for his support, and their omission to do so is made convictable by special statute.

I think there is no obscurity in the law as to the Lunatick Asylum. The Court cannot legally refuse to impose a tax to pay for the support of a patient, legally sent to the Asylum, as a County patient, even if he himself were a man of wealth. The law has left it to the committing Magistrates, with no appellate tribunal, to decide who is a fit subject to be sent to this institution at the charge of the County. This is my individual opinion. I have no more authority to construe the statutes touching the Asylum, than I have as to any other Statute. What I have written must be taken as the opinion of a quondam lawyer.

Shelby.

To General Nelson A. Miles.

May 18 1867.

Arrest of D. G. McRae.

I recd last night from D. G. McRae, from Goldsboro, a letter informing me that he was under military arrest, being in custody and on his way to Ft. Macon "for something which had not been made known to me" (him). He says he is informed you issued the order of arrest, and requests me to ascertain from you the specific charge against him and to forward it to a lawyer whom he designates and whom, I infer, he has retained to defend him.

If the information he seeks be such as you may be able and willing to furnish me, I will forward, as requested by Mr. McRae, who has always borne the name of a law-abiding citizen.

Raleigh.

To J. G. Spencer.

May 18 1867.

Finding it quite impossible to attend to the charaties committed to my charge for the relief of our people, I got the consent of Hon. D. M. Barringer and the four clergymen of the chief denominations of this city, to relieve me from this duty. I learn that a supply has been sent for Montgomery. I mentioned Locky Simmons as one man suitable to distribute it—and think they nominated Mr. Jordan, because he was the late member of Assembly from that County, as the other. I will refer your letter for more specific answer. Relief of the destitute.

SALISBURY.

To Thomas Settle.[1]

EXECUTIVE DEPT.

RALEIGH, *May 20 1867.*

You will have heard that Henderson Cooper, (of color) convicted as accessory to a rape on the body of Susan Jane Daniels in Greenville—sentenced to be hanged—escaped—re-captured and sentence re-affirmed—was taken into custody by order of Genl. Sickles and a military tribunal organised to inquire into the fairness of his trial, etc. Case of Henderson Cooper.

I am furnished by Genl. Sickles with a copy of Col.

[1] Thos. Settle, of Rockingham, prior to the war was a Democrat and later a Whig. He was a member of the legislature from 1854 to 1859, and at the latter session was Speaker of the House. He was for a short time a captain in the Confederate service, but resigned to become Solicitor of the 4th District He was a member of the convention and legislature of 1865, and was Speaker of the Senate in the latter body. In 1868 he was elected as a Republican a Justice of the Supreme Court. In 1871 he became Minister to Peru but soon resigned. He was President of the Republican National Convention of 1872; he was then appointed to the State Supreme Court but resigned in 1876 to run for governor, and was defeated by Z. B. Vance. President Hayes, in 1877, made him U. S. Judge for the Northern District of Florida.

Bomford's report (a copy of which I inclose) but am not furnished with any of the evidence taken by said commission, with reference to Genl. Sickles, in the following words "Respectfully referred to his Excellency J. Worth, Gov. of N. C. for his consideration and remarks—

By command of Genl. D. E. Sickles."

I will be obliged to you for such information as you can give me touching on the fairness of the trial, and your convictions as to the guilt or innocence of the prisoner.

Wentworth.

To A. S. McNeill.

Raleigh, *May 21/67.*

Appointment of registers.

I thank you for your letter relating to claim of Jno. McNeill's estate vs the County of Harnett and recommending registers for your County.

I cannot at this moment lay my hands on the papers enabling me to state with precision the amount of interest due on this claim, but you can reach it with exact accuracy in the judgt of your Supr. Court and my petition for a mandamus. I trust the Court will pay the interest and 2-½ per cent commission which was due to Jno. McNeill more than seven years ago, under their orders.

You are right in not nominating any negroes. I have no idea of being the instrument of carrying out so absurd a proposition. I decline to nominate negroes, not because they are negroes, but because they are incompetent to discharge the duties.

I have reason to believe this movement of the freedmen's bureau had its origin with a base party among us and that it will not be countenanced by Genl Sickles.

To Dr. Samuel A. Williams.

May 21 1867.

Case of Henderson Cooper.

You will have heard that Henderson [Cooper] of color, convicted of rape at Spring Term 1865, of Granville Supr. Court, was taken some weeks ago, by order of Genl. Sickles, from the civil authorities and a military commission appointed to inquire into the fairness of the trial by which he was convicted. The report of that commission is submitted to me by Genl. Sickles for my remarks. This report, which gives me all the information I have had by report or otherwise, as to the evidence adduced on the trial, carries with it internal evidence, that the commission, from ignorance or prejudice, have not made a report entitled to respect. On inquiry of an intelligent gentleman from your neighborhood, yesterday, he informed me that after the condemnation the criminal made voluntary confessions to you as to his participation in the crime. I respectfully ask of you, at your earliest convenience, a statement of writing of any confession or statement made to you by the prisoner—under what inducements such confessions were made—and any other facts within your knowledge tending to establish the guilt or innocence of this prisoner.

Do you know at what distance from Oxford the prosecutrix resided when the said military commission sat in Oxford and whether any effort was made to have her before the commission and her testimony taken?

OXFORD.

To M. McRae.

May 22 1867.

In regard to James Sinclair.

I can do nothing to relieve you from that evil spirit—the fighting parson. If I could succeed in procuring a military order restraining the evil spirit from mischief, it would raise a clamor throughout the land. The only prac-

ticable remedy I can suggest, is the getting of honest negroes to reply to him—and if he use incendiary language for his hearers to report it direct—and not through the Govr.—to Genl Sickles. The former I regard as the better remedy.

Shoe Heel.

To General Daniel E. Sickles.

May 22 1867.

Appointment of registers.

I am prepared to recommend Registers for about 70 of the 89 counties of this State, whom I believe are of such exemplary character that they will give satisfaction to the great body of our people, white and black—and hope shortly to be prepared to recommend for the remainder of the counties. I therefore asked you whether you desired me to report before I was prepared to report for all the counties. Having reed no answer, I now report the majority. As you may desire to make inquiries of others as to the fitness of my nominees, and it may be some two or three weeks before I can make up my report for all of the counties, I will make a partial report whenever you may request it.

The delay as to some of the counties springs from the difficulty and uncertainty of the mails. In many counties after the issue of Genl. Miles' Circular my agents inferred that your request to me to nominate Registers had been revoked, and took no action till re-instructed to do so.

I have the honor to be

Charleston, S. C.

To Jesse Warden.

May 22 1867.

Case of Tolar, McRae, etc.

In a correspondence I am having with Genl. Sickles, touching the seizure of Capt. Tolar, D. G. McRae and

Mark Phillips, it is desirable for me to have a copy of an Indictment which I am informed was found at the late term of yr. Supr. Court against Capt. Tolar,—and your certificate as to whether it was found after a presentment by the grand jury—or upon the application of a prosecutor and also on what day such bill was found.

FAYETTEVILLE.

To R. Strange.

May 22 1867.

Arrest of McRae, etc.

Although materially indisposed, I went to-day in person to see Genl. Miles. He says he has no authority to release Mr. McRae. I have written to Genl. Sickles remonstrating against arrests upon ex parte statements and without any preliminary hearing—representing the good character of McRae and asking him to order his release on his parol—and calling his attention to the fact that a Military Commission was ordered for the trial of these parties *before it was possible* that the Court, having jurisdiction, could act. This is far from the first instance where Genl. Avery has exhibited alacrity in preferring unjust charges against our Courts—but it is a little the most bald case.

I learn from Genl. Miles that Genl. Avery has drawn up his specifications. If I am furnished a copy, which I requested, I will forward it to you—And will from time to time, keep you posted as to the whole matter, so far as I can.

[P. S.]—I am at my residence. I will send you a copy of my letter to Genl. Sickles tomorrow, if I can remember it in the multitude of my cares.

WILMINGTON.

From W. F. Leak.

ROCKINGHAM, RICHMOND CO. *May 23/67.*

Formation of the Union League.

I do not know that the "military authorities" will see

proper to interfere to remedy the evil of which we complain, yet nevertheless I feel it due to myself, as well as to others who have solicited me, to make known through you and to those in command of the existence of an evil in our midst, which if compatible in their views of propriety, ought *at once to be checked.*

I allude to the *secret* societies, now forming by the free blacks in *every section of this County.*

There are now in our midst a couple of Freedmen, one of whom would have passed as a white man, did he not tell his audience that he was a freed man) who are constantly engaged in administering *secret* oaths to the "freedmen" and forming *secret* societies.

To so great an extent is this done that it has lately created no little alarm among the people and *particularly* among the female portion of the whites, and the more so for the reason, that the law-abiding white men do not pretend to wear fire arms, to protect themselves against any sudden outbreak of the Blacks whereas the "freed negroes", at least ¼, are *well armed* with pistols, Buie knives, etc.

An order from Gen. Sickles would at once put a stop to it, which we think with due deference should be done.

To J. R. Bulla.[1]

May 24 1867.

Concerning vacancies in county offices.

On the reference of your memorial to me touching your difficulty as to supposed vacancy of Shff. in Randolph, I addressed to Genl. Sickles a reply, a copy of which is herewith inclosed. He has returned my letter with the following endorsement. "Respectfully returned. It is the desire of the commanding Genl. whenever he can do so, with just reliance upon the discreet and impartial exercise of the power, to remit to provisional authorities such power of appointment, as by writing laws, they may exer-

[1] The County Attorney of Randolph.

cise, subject to the condition imposed by Sec. 6 of "the act to provide for the more efficient government of the Confederate States," passed Mar. 2/67, that no person is eligible to office who would be disqualified under the provisions of the 3rd article of the constitutional amendment. It is necessary therefore that all persons, so appointed, should in addition to such oath or oaths of office as may be required by North Carolina, take and subscribe the oath of office—proscribed in Sec. 1 of the Act supplementary to the act last mentioned, passed Mar. 23/67. A duplicate copy of said oath of office, duly subscribed and attested, to be forwarded to the head-quarters through the commanding officer of the military post within which the appointment is made. These papers to be returned with action noted."

I shall endorse on these papers and return them as follows. "A copy of the written letter to you, of the 10th inst. and a copy of your endorsement thereon, are this 24 May, sent to the County Att. of Randolph, with my request that he furnish me with a copy of the proceedings of the Court, touching the matter, at May Term, 1867."

I desire that you furnish me such copy of record without delay, with any remarks you may deem it expedient to submit.

Asheboro.

To R. C. Holmes.

Raleigh, *May 24/67.*

Relief of the destitute.

I found it altogether incompatible with my official duties, to attend to the judicious distribution and the correspondence, as to the donations of Maryland and benevolent Northern associations, for the relief of the Southern people, and obtained the consent of Col. D. M. Barringer and the chief clergymen of this city to attend to the same for me. Nearly all which has been confided to

me has been distributed to points where the greatest destitution was believed to exist. I have referred your letter to the above mentioned commission, who will send you some aid, or explain, if they do not. I thank you for the expression of your approval of my efforts to make the condition of our people as tolerable as possible. God knows I have done my best for the welfare of North Carolina—and next to the approval of my own conscience, I would be gratified with the approbation of the people who have selected me as their Chief Magistrate at this trying period of our history.

CLINTON.

To E. Hubb.

RALEIGH, *May 24/67.*

Relief of the destitute.

Some weeks ago donations for the relief of our starving people were sent to Col. Bomford and myself, from benevolent societies in New York and Phila. The amount, though eminently creditable to the sources, was merely nominal, in reference to the destitution. We sent it at once to a few counties where a local drought last summer, made starvation inevitable without aid from abroad. Since then $500. in money from California and a large quantity of bacon and corn was sent to me by Maryland. Finding it quite impossible, consistent with official duties, to attend to the proper distribution of these donations and the extensive correspondence growing out of it, I obtained the consent of D. M. Barringer and the four chief clergymen of this city, to relieve me from this labor. I understand from them that nearly all has been distributed to the points where greatest destitution existed, according to the best information they could obtain. I have sent your letter to the commission who will reply further thereto.

I am not informed whether other supplies will be sent

to my care. I had not heard until the receipt of your letter, that extraordinary destitution existed in Craven. On the contrary I had supposed, in comparison with most of the State, that there was a good crop last year, and that the great body of the people were able to aid the isolated cases of distress existing in every community. Your representation surprises me and concerns me—and if possible, some aid shall be sent to you.

New Bern.

To Horace R. Chappell.

Raleigh, *May 24/67.*

Before the receipt of yours of yesterday's date, I had made my recommendations for Register of Wake. Genl. Sickles may not act immediately on my recommendations—or may disapprove some of them. If you send me a recommendation as to your fitness from persons of known respectability, I will forward it to Genl Sickles.

New Light, Wake Co.

From Zebulon B. Vance.

Charlotte, *May 25th, 1867*

In regard to an invitation to address the negroes.

You perhaps have seen a call on Gov. Wise and myself in the *Sentinel,* from the negroes of Edgecombe and Nash to address them on the issues of the day. I am very averse to appearing in politics now, but regret to see any opportunity which the negroes give us neglected, as they evidently don't design giving us many chances at them—at least the mean whites who control them intend so to contrive it.

What shall I do? My inclination is to write them a letter and decline. I could say nearly all I wish in the letter.

Consult friends and write me.

To General Nelson A. Miles.

May 25 1867.

Court of Oyer and Terminer for Lenoir.

I appointed Judge Warren last week, as soon as I was informed that several of the malefactors, who have been disquieting the County of Lenoir and adjacent counties, were captured and in the jail of Lenoir, to hold a Court of Oyer and Terminer in that County, for the trial of the prisoners, and I offered a reward for the apprehension of two against whom I was informed there was satisfactory evidence, as I will for any others when their names are furnished to me, with satisfactory evidence of their guilty co-operation with these bands of regulators.

I also asked Col. Bomford to furnish a military guard for the jail, who referred my request to the officer commanding in Lenoir. I have had no response to this request from the commandant of that Post, but have heard unofficially that a portion of the prisoners, by order from some military officer of the United States, had been sent to Ft. Macon for safe custody.

I am intensely anxious that none of the prisoners escape. Under existing law, disbanding the militia of the State, I have no power to place an armed guard around the jail and have done all I could for their safe custody in asking the military authority of the U. S. to furnish a guard.

If Major Foster can furnish me with the names of any witnesses by whom proof can be made against any one of the malefactors, I shall be much obliged. The fact, I think, is notorious that for months past, bands of desperadoes have been committing crime in Lenoir and adjacent Counties. The failure to punish them, so far as I can learn, is not attributable to the civil authorities, but to the failure of parties injured and others, to furnish the specific information to the civil officers which would authorise the authorities to act.

Raleigh.

To William Clark.

RALEIGH, *May 25 1867.*

I received some weeks ago your long and kind letter. My official duties require of me so much writing . . . [*Here follow several lines which are illegible.*

. . . Her whole life had been one sweet and cheerful, though never enjoying perfect health. So wise and considerate was she of the feelings of every body, however humble that she had as strong a hold on my affections as child can have on a father—And my thoughts never return to her (and to this time she is seldom absent from my thoughts) without melancholy anguish.

You continually desire to know my views on the present plan of National affairs.

Feeling in the South.

When the war ended the South felt thoroughly conquered—and ready to submit to the terms demanded by her conquerors. If the narrow malevolence which now under the guise of patriotism, demands the confiscation of our lands, and the exile or death of the great body of our people had then manifested itself, there would have been no attempt at resistance, but so many as survived would have hated and taught their children to hate, a faction who nurtured hatred and vengeance after the vanguished asked for quarter.

After two years of deliberation the North says to us, we will receive you into fellowship again, whenever you will make certain amendments of the fundamental law, whereby your most enlightened and most respected citizens shall be excluded from any further agency in the government under which they are to live—and whereby every male negro of the age of 21 shall be declared competent and fit to manage governmental affairs:—and to insure your action in conformity to our wishes, we give you notice that your lands shall be confiscated if you disregard our requirements: and for fear that even this threat may not induce you to adopt a Constitution which

we think will insure our continued party ascendency, we disband your militia and quarter among you enough troops, to compel you to vote as we want you to vote. When your new Constitution is formed it must contain the provisions we dictate, but it must bear the *semblance* of being a constitution adopted *freely* by you.

I do not doubt that all the Southern States will conform to the demands of the North. Total ruin seems to be the denunciation if we refuse to adopt what seems to us an absurd constitution. To avoid the bayonet and secure bread to preserve life, we will adopt it—, but it ought to be manifest to every Northern man who regards us as still retaining the feelings of human nature, that we do so, with positive abhorrence towards a people accomplishing its *party* purposes under the hypocritical pretense of preserving Republican government. Our people all have sagacity enough to look through the flimsy veil by which the party in power seek to cover their designs—towit—the perpetuation of their party ascendency, under the popular name of "Loyalty"—"Human Rights"—"Impartial Suffrage" and other class trash—when it is manifest that those who work the wires look with a single eye, to party ascendency.

The only party, in my day, whose whole aims were noble and patriotic, was the Whig party, while Henry Clay, one of Nature's noblemen, was its teacher; and inspired it with his manly views.

The great body of the American people, now believe, that the late war arose from antagonism between Freedom and Slavery. Nothing can be more palpably false. *Party Spirit* produced the war. The tariff was the first pretext, and Sectional and party ascendency—and *then Slavery.* Ambitious Southerners and ambitious Northerners, each wishing to rule, draw off from their real designs, the views of the gullible multitude of their respective sections.

President Johnson, as well as Lincoln, were patriotic and national in their views. Their scheme of restoring

the Union, looked to the restoration of cordiality between the alienated sections. The present leaders of the democrat party, who no doubt represent the sentiments of the great North, look to keeping the Union together, by keeping their heel upon their vanquished foes, and the sword continually suspended over them, and compelling the adoption of measures under the hypocritical pretext of popular approbation by a people thus coerced.

The purposes of Providence are often accomplished by means which to the weakness of human reason, seem illy fitted to accomplish the end. To me the measures of the dominant party seem only suited to despair and perpetuate hate between the sections—and I cannot perceive how material good is to spring from the nurture of sectional hate:—and my only hope is that Providence is working out some great good by means which seem to me calculated only to nurse the most devilish feelings of the human heart.

With military satraps placed over us, invested with absolute control over us, and with ignoble spies placed in every neighborhood who know they can make themselves acceptable to the North and retain their places, only by maligning all our actions, you need not expect from our press or otherwise the expression of feeling which our people naturally indulge. All manly expression of sentiment is crushed. The temptation is almost irresistable to seek for favor by fawning—and not a few yield to the temptation. Silence is the resource of manly honesty.

The feeling among the great body of our people—and especially among the late owners of slaves, is one of kindness and pity for this confiding impovident man. Not one man in ten would restore them to slavery. If we were let alone every facility would be allowed them, by industry and good conduct, to improve their condition: but to have our land traversed by Wilson, Kelly and other Northern partizans, seeking to segregate the negro from the whites, and sow the seeds of antagonism of the races

in order (not disguised) to insure the ascendency of the Republican party, in these States, intensifies the hostility of our people towards the dominant power. This feeling is necessarily suppressed. Few are willing to be made martyrs, when they see no good likely to result from self sacrifice.

For your personal satisfaction I have made this frank exposition of the state of feeling here. It is not for the public eye.

All my life my sentiments as to national affairs have been in cordial unison with the teachings of Genl Washington in his farewell address: but I have no affection for such a Union and such a Constitution as is maintained and established by brute force.

We are enjoying good health and no event has occurred lately among our family circle, of any importance.

Economy, Indiana.

To Thomas C. Fuller.

May 26 1867.

Arrest of Tolar, etc.

Yours of the 22 inst., covering copy of Indictment against Capt. Tolar is received. In my efforts to induce Genl. Sickles to desist from his interference with the Supr Court of Cumberland in the case of your client and Mr. McRae, I much needed this copy. The General's action is based on the representation of General Avery, an officer of the Freedman's Bureau, whose duty as I infer from his action in this and other cases, is always performed with the single idea, that a Southern white man never tells the truth, and that a negro never lies. I have had an interview with him. He puts his recommendations chiefly on the action of the coroner's jury. If the evidence before that jury and their verdict were furnished me, it might be of much advantage to me. Avery represents

the verdict as not conforming to the evidence and hence argues that justice cannot be had before a Cumberland jury.

All the influence I can exercise to defeat this scheme of trying these men by a military commission will be exerted,—and I will thank you for any facts which you may think would be of service to me.

I had written for a copy of the Indictment. Say to the Clerk that the copy sent by you serves my purpose.

FAYETTEVILLE.

To Luke Blackmer.

May 27, 1867.

A letter was received from you some week or two ago relating to the arrest of Messrs. March and Hampton. By some unaccountable means it has been mislaid, without having been answered: I suppose it is now unimport whether I answer it at all. Military arrests.

Mr. Thomas brought the application addressed to Genl. Sickles to me for my endorsement. The application for endorsement was made in writing by Mr. Gorrell and I believe by the other counsel associated with him. I read the petition: I responded that I could perceive no reason upon the facts stated in the petition, for the interposition of the military authorities: that while the counsel that filed the petition were both personally and professionally gentlemen of high standing, I did not concur in the allegation that our Courts could not give adequate relief.

I have a copy of this letter at my office. I write from my residence (being unwell today) and give the substance from memory.

Whether my letter was presented to the General or not I do not know. As I perceive from a note in the *Old North State* to-day, that you and Mr. McCorkle were allowed to see the papers, allow me to inquire, was my letter filed? You can have a copy of it, if you wish it.

SALISBURY.

To D. F. Caldwell.

May 28 1867.

In the report of Genl. Avery to Col. Bomford, touching the case of Robert Davis, occur the following passages—

"After his arrest he was told by the Jailor, Mr. Reese, that he would certainly be convicted and that his only chance for obtaining mercy, was to tell the whole matter. A Mr. Marrow and Mr. S. B. Glenn, accompanied by the jailor, visited Davis in the prison, and after some conversation with him, induced him to confess that he had entered the house of Mr. Marrow and taken the property from two other houses.

Mr. Glenn, one of the parties to whom the confession was made, told Mr. Brown, a prominent merchant in Greensboro, at the time the confession was made, that he told the boy Davis he had whipped him once for stealing, and that unless he now told the whole truth he would whip him again, and that Davis thereon confessed the crime as charged and two other similar cases."

You will see that the drift of this report was intended to impeach the fairness of the conviction.

I have reason to believe that Genl. Avery, upon whose reports the negro Cooper, convicted of rape in Granville, was withdrawn from the civil authorities—and several persons in Fayetteville seized and carried to Ft Macon for trial before a military commission, *before a Court having cognizance of the crime imputed to them could act,* has contributed more than any other officer stationed in N. C., to make the unjust impression that our Courts will not act impartially where a negro is concerned. I wish to know whether the facts reporting a crime against Reese in I. County are truly stated. Will appreciate it.

Greensboro, N. C.

To General Daniel E. Sickles.

RALEIGH *May 28/67.*

In the several cases of petitions by parties to you for pardon for offences of which there had been a conviction in our Courts, which you have referred to me, I have invariably taken proper steps to ascertain the facts. Petitions for pardon.

I do not know whether you desire me to report to you the result of such inquiry and my action thereon. If so, I will attend to it at once.

In the case of the petition of J. J. Gibbs, of Charlotte, whose petition represented that he was persecuted because he had been a U. S. soldier, I inclosed a copy of his petition to Ex-Gov. Vance, residing in Charlotte and asked him to refer it to some intelligent U. S. officer. Inclosed find report of Capt. Lazelle.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

To General Daniel E. Sickles.

May 29 1867.

Allow me to call your attention to my letter of the 26th Apl, inquiring whether I could have possession of the Governor's mansion and grounds, now occupied by your military authorities, in order to repair them, as required by an act of the last Genl Assembly—and also inquiring whether rent would be allowed this State for their occupation since I entered on the discharge of my duties, by order of the President—or for any other times. I have not been informed whether my letter of the 26th ult reached your hands.

CHARLESTON.

From Braxton Craven.

TRINITY COLLEGE *June 6, 1867.*

Matters in Randolph county.

Will you be at High Point on Wednesday evening on the mail train? I hope you will.

Movements are on hand beyound my comprehensions. They are moving heaven and earth in this County. Froyer is certain to be put out of office, for daring to recommend any thing but Red Strings. It will be disastrous to this County for Reuben Trogden will be put in, it is said, but I do not know anything that can be done.

I see nothing now, but for all true men to stand shoulder to shoulder, watch and wait. The efforts will be to prevent registration to a tremendous extent.

Come up, many friends wish to see you. All have not bowed the knee to Baal.

To D. F. Caldwell.

June 8 1867.

My accumulated duties limit me to a very brief reply to your patriotic and manly letters.

I have in no-wise committed myself on the great pending questions, beyond the point that all who can should register. As to giving the semblance of volition, by an act of mine where I am allowed semblance of volition, to a change of our Constitution, *really* under the sword, but ostensibly voluntary on our part, I most heartily heartily concur with you: but I deem it unwise and impolitic, *at this time,* to say any thing to the public.

The article in the *Sentinel* appeared without my knowledge. I have submitted your [*illegible.*]

GREENSBORO.

To Colonel W. G. Moore.

June 9th 1867.

There is a matter, apparently unimportant, which to some extent injuriously affects the President, to which I desire in unofficial shape, to call your attention. I do so, because I regard you as a sincere friend of the President—from elevated considerations—and I have formed a strong attachment to you personally from the convictions that you are an honest man—a rare case now-a-days.

Holden's conduct in relation to pardons.

Gov. Holden abused the confidence of the President as to recommending persons for pardons, in this.—All his actions were shaped to bring about his election by the people as Governor. He never failed to recommend for pardon any one,—whatever his antecedents, who gave him satisfactory assurance of support. He recommended for suspension or rejection, every one, regardless of his political antecedents, who would not assure him of support. Let me give you an illustration. The following gentlemen had been members of the Confederate Congress and were open and avowed Secessionists—Lander, Craige, Bridgers, Arrington, Venable. On the other hand the following men—Gov. Graham, Vance, Jo. Turner, Gaither, and others of like stripe, who had never endorsed Secession, but would not become spaniels and lick the hand which had chastised them, were represented as unworthy of pardons. The class of men last mentioned could not be pardoned, because they would not support Holden. It was soon understood that the purport to pardon was support of Holden.

This brings me to my point—On my last visit to Washington the pardon clerk, at my request, furnished me with a list of persons, from this State, who had petitioned for pardons, on account of being worth $20,000. or holding some petty office, whose pardon Gov. Holden had recommended to be suspended or rejected. Every person on this list was politically obscure; but were known to Mr.

Holden to be men, who under no circumstances would vote to make him Governor. Many of them are estimable men. When they know that Dortch, Bridgers, McLean, Venable, Arrington and other conspicuous members of the Confederate Congress who had done their best to bring about and sustain the rebellion, are pardoned, while they, many of whom resisted the Revolution as long as the United States could protect them, are not pardoned—not properly appreciating the vast field of duty to which the President has to look, conceive that they are wronged. Much as *I* abhorred Secession you must not infer that I object to any pardon which has been granted. What I desire to impress is that Justice and policy alike require that all these petitioners, who have never been conspicuous as politicians, ought to be pardoned. A list of them was made out by the pardon clerk and I endorsed it, recommending that the pardons issue. I do not doubt that it has been overlooked simply on account of the pressure of more important business. The object of this letter is to ask you to have that list hunted up and the pardons forwarded. I ask it more in justice to the President than for the sake of the parties. I believe the President to be "the noblest work of God—an honest man" and desire to contribute my mite to protect him from unjust criticism.

These men know their pardons were not granted with others in like position, on account of the personal hostility of Holden. They can't be made to understand why they are *now* withheld.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To F. B. Satterthwaite.

June 12 1867

Concerning vacancies in county offices.

I have received the petition of yourself and others for the appointment of Mr. Stackey as Clerk of your Court to fill vacancy occasioned by the recent death of the former

clerk—and have forwarded it to Genl. Sickles with this endorsement—

"The petitioners are gentlemen distinguished for intelligence, and in every way worthy men.

I think that a fair interpretation of the re-construction act, as well as public policy, will leave the filling of this vacancy with the County Court. If the commanding General deems it his right and duty to fill this vacancy, I recommend that the prayer of the petitioners be granted.

I do not interpret the act of Congress as declaring the civil authorities of the State a provisional government, simply to record the edicts of the Military Commandant—but to administer the government of the State as to civil matters, according to the laws of the State. I do not construe this act as conferring on him the power to remove and appoint civil officers at will, and have made an emphatic remonstrance to the Prest. against the late measures of Genl. Sickles which seem to look to the total absorption of the civil by the military power. I have occasoin to believe my action will be favorably considered not only by the Executive Dept. of the Govt. of the U. S.—but by the Republican wing of its Judiciary.

Washington.

To J. M. Parrott.

June 12 1867.

I inclose an anonymous letter. It states some facts with such precision as to entitle it to more than the consideration usually due to irresponsible letters. Most earnestly do I desire to do something to arrest the horrible state of affairs described by the writer—but what can I do? What can any authority, civil or military—do if the local community are so supine or so terrified, that they will not or dare not ferret out the perpetrators of those deeds of horror! I inclose to you this letter, assuming you may

know the writer—or that you may be able to suggest some means by which I may personally or officially be useful in bringing the criminals to Justice or giving security to your people. These generalities only annoy me. Government and laws, ever so well administered, can do little to protect a people, who will do nothing to ferret out and bring to the attention of the authorities *the names* of the perpetrators of crimes. I feel almost indignant at appeals to me which furnish me no facts on which I can base any action.

I will go any length to capture and punish these criminals, if furnished with proper information. The local community—and not the authorities—are responsible for the impunity of these murderers.

KINSTON.

To J. R. Mendenhall.

June 12 1867.

As the son of my early and steadfast friend so long as he lived, you were entitled to an earlier answer to yours of the 14th ult., which, notwithstanding the pressure on my time, would have been made, but for the fact that I learned from Mr. Jackson that no question would be submitted for my decision.

I still adhere most firmly to the principle, on which I and your worthy father while he lived, always acted—to-wit—to perform, no odds what sacrifice, whatever we undertook to do, wholly irrespective of the question whether performance could be enforced by law or not. In the present case, no effort will be made to induce you to pay interest for which you are not responsible on the face of your note: but if your contract (however injudicious) required you to give a note bearing interest, it would have been beneficial to you—pecuniarily—on the principle that honesty is always the best policy—to pay it.

With the sincerest wishes for your prosperity and that you may always maintain the enviable reputation of your father—as an honest man—I am

JAMESTOWN.

To B. S. Hedrick.

June 12 1867.

Asking a pardon for Josiah Turner.

I think you know the political antecedents of Jo. Turner jr. If there be in the U. S. a more constant, stern, honest advocate for sustaining the Constitution and the Union, so long as the government of the U. S. could protect him, than Jo. Turner, I do not know him. He committed the error, as I think, when he could not resist the current of revolution, of volunteering as a soldier in the Confederate service. When he was afterwards elected to Congress in this Congressional District, over a secession competitor and re-elected as a Holdenite, and advocated and pressed every measure tending to peace on the basis of reunion all his sins should have been forgiven:—and certainly there can exist no good reason why the president should with-hold his pardon, after pardoning McLean, Dortch, Venable, Arrington, Lander, etc. You know he is a man of uncommon moral courage—and was the chief actor in bringing me out to defeat Holden. He is a first-rate man as a Director on a R. R. He never has any favorite whom he would not attack if he deemed it due to honesty—and has the talent and general capacity fitting him for the position. I appointed him a Director on the N. C. R. R. last year and would like to re-appoint him this year. In a few days I must act.—The general course of the military commandant of this district lately—as well as other information leads me to believe that he means to assume the appointment of Directors, for our Rail Roads. In this I hope I am mistaken—but I feel confident if I appoint an *unpardoned rebel,* it will be made the occasion of outcry

by Holden and his followers—and, I fear, the *pretext,* for the assumption of military control over the Public Works of the State.

I am in this embarrassing position. If I fail to nominate Mr. Turner, every body will say that I have acted ungratefully, if not meanly, towards him (as nobody pretends to doubt his competency and fitness for the position. If I nominate him, it may lead to the interposition of Genl. Sickles, on the plausible pretext that I have appointed an unpardoned rebel.

If you can get the ear of the President, please explain my dilemma, and ask him to relieve me by pardoning Turner. I feel very anxious about this.—If any thing be done it should be *immediately.* Turner knows nothing of this application. He feels wounded at the withholding of his pardon and would not propose my interposition to press it—but deem my action as offensive.

I ask his pardon as a personal favor, which I deem entirely compatible with the public interest and which I believe would be gratifying to every friend of the President in North Carolina.

Washington, D. C.

To H. H. Helper.[1]

Raleigh, *June 13/67.*

Concerning the appointment of registers.

I do not know whether your duties are confined solely to laying down rules of Registration, or whether you are consulted or not, as to the fitness of persons nominated to the Comg. Genl as registers. I send a letter touching the Registers in Hyde.

The late orders of Genl Sickles, sending to a military prison without preliminary hearing, one of the most orderly men in the State, Duncan McRae of Fayetteville,

[1] A brother of Hinton R. Helper, the author of *The Impending Crisis.*

without any complaint having been preferred against him before any civil magistrate or Court, upon a charge which no decent man I have seen or heard of believes to be well founded—The abolition of the Courts in several Counties upon representations made ex-parte—and believed to be entirely groundless: his removal of the municipal authorities of Fayetteville without any charge preferred against him or opportunity to confront their accusers and offer evidence; and general orders No. 32 and 34, have produced dismay and dissatisfaction among the most enlightened and virtuous of our people.

I deeply regret that the commanding general has deemed it his duty to make these orders. I have good reason to believe that Judges Chase and Brooks regard such of the orders of the General as assume jurisdiction over matters purely civil as transcending his powers and such is the opinion of all the legal gentlemen from whom I have heard.

I shall be glad to hear from you. What you write shall be deemed personal and confidential, if you so request.

Charleston, S. C.

To Master John R. Tolar.[1]

June 14 1867.

Your letter exhibiting the solicitude becoming a dutiful son for a father oppressed as your father is, was duly received.

I have been using all the influence I could exert with the military authorities to induce them to allow the prisoners to be tried in the civil Courts. The mind of Genl. Sickles has been so poisoned by informers whose names are

[1] A son of Tolar of Fayetteville, arrested, tried, and condemned by military commission for the killing of A. Beebe, a negro guilty of an attempt at rape.

unknown to me, that my efforts thus far have been unavailing. They will be continued—but I have faint hopes of success.

With the deepest sympathy for you and yours—

FAYETTEVILLE.

To Thomas Ruffin.

June 14 1867.

I showed your letter of the 3rd explaining the cause of your failure to join in the cortage in honor of the President—to him—and also to Gov. Seward. Each of them admired its tone and sentiments. The Prest. who seems sad and taciturn, remarked that it was an admirable letter—and that it ought to be preserved. I think its publication might do good? Will you allow me to have it published?

With sincere hope that your health may be improved and that you may be allowed to live to see something of civil liberty restored to our unhappy people,

HILLSBORO.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *June 15, 1867.*

Concerning the pardon of Turner.

The President has promised to issue Turner's pardon tomorrow, and send immediately to you. Col. Moore asked me to say to you that he had received your letter, and had not answered only because he wished to be able to say when he did answer that what you desired had been done.

I leave here for Raleigh to-morrow morning, and expect to be there Monday evening, by the time this reaches

you. Soon after I get to Raleigh, I will go and see Kemp Battle, and let him know of my arrival.

William H. Bagley to Josiah Turner, Jr.

June 21st 1867.

Pardon of Turner.

Enclosed please find Express receipt for package, containing your warrant of pardon from the President, this day sent as per receipt.

The Governor is now absent, and it is proper, perhaps, to add that the *immediate* issuance of the pardon is due to the efforts of Col. W. G. Moore, the President's Private Secretary, who had made prompt efforts in the matter at the request of Gov. Worth.

Hillsboro.

To Colonel J. V. Bomford.

Raleigh *June 22 1867.*

I was notified by Genl. Sickles, by telegram of the 1st inst. that "orders had been sent that day to Commanding Officer at Raleigh to restore premises" (Executive mansion) "to the executive."

If you have recd these orders please inform me when the premises will be restored to me.

Raleigh.

To B. S. Hedrick.

June 24 1867.

On the 3rd Decr. last I recommended for pardon under the $20,000. exception, J. S. Means, of Mecklenburg County. He got a Mr. Wallace of Phila. whom he deemed

his friend, to present the petition. He writes me that Wallace got the pardon, but refuses to surrender it to him except upon the payment of a large fee. He claimed at first $350.—but has gradually lowered his demand to $100.

It is a case of mean fraud on Means. Can you not get a duplicate and send me?

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To J. Turner, Jr.

June 25 1867.

Appointment of Railroad Directors.

I had no opportunity to get at Parsley's views. I found much difficulty in getting Dr. Ramsey and Mr. Winston to concur in my recommendations, to-wit

1. Means
2. Coffin
3. Alf Hargrave—not J. W. Thomas
4. Jesse H. Lindsay
5. Giles Mebane
6. Yourself
7. Tucker
8. Parsley

We adjourned to 2nd July without making appointments for N. C. R. R.

Both my associates seemed to prefer re-appointing Boyden and Roberts and Dr. Moore. I suppose all of these would vote as they did last year, would they not?

How would Mebane vote? How Lindsay? Thomas stinks so strongly in the nostrils of all honest men, that I deemed it out of the question to nominate him. I am absolutely harrassed by the diversity of my duties—and can say no more now.

HILLSBORO.

To B. G. Worth.

June 28th 1867.

A most extraordinary pressure of business for some days past has made it impossible for me to keep up with my correspondence.

I think, upon the facts stated in your letter that Stephen Coffin is properly indictable for cheating you by false pretences—but whether the Courts of New York or Indiana have jurisdiction, I cannot say, and I have not examined the Statute of Indiana. I suppose the cheating was by a letter written from Indiana, and that the false representation was not made in N. Y. by Coffin in person. Upon the legal question whether the Criminal Courts of N. Y. would have jurisdiction, the offence being committed in N. Y. by a letter written from Ia., I incline to the affirmative, but cannot be free from doubt, and have not time to search for the authorities. You had better submit the question to a learned lawyer and if the indictment will lie, try to get your debt secured by the parties rather than be indicted. I think you will find more difficulty in getting your debt secured *after* a bill found, than *before*. It seems to me from Barney's letter to you that he and Nixon are indictable as well as Stephen.

The absurd re-construction acts and the more absurd execution of them by the military commandants, tends to deeper the alienations between the sections. My position was never more embarrassing. The reconstruction on the basis of the acts of Congress, to-wit the enfranchisement of the negro, and disfranchisement of the men of intelligence and property, will be the building of a house on the sand—the negro and mean white men ready to bend the cringing knee to favor will rule the State—and the North in thus ruining us, ruins the whole nation. Ben Wade's election is the natural sequent of universal suffrage. The cupidity of the propertyless, the majority in all Counties, will demand and enforce distribution of property. The North is digging a grave for the nation.

* * * * * * *

The prospects of a crop of corn and cotton is very bad owing to the improbability of good culture. There have not been three days in the past five weeks when the ground was not too wet to plough.

NEW YORK CITY.

To Tyre York.

June 29 1867.

I have no power, nor has Genl. Sickles power, according to the opinion of the Att. Genl. and the President and Cabinet, to order the Genl Assembly not to meet. The General Assembly having thought proper to fix the day of its next meeting, and must meet according to its adjournment unless the actions of the Congress now expected to meet in July shall interfere by new legislation.

In a great hurry.

TRAP HILL.

To Mills L. Eure.

June 29 1867.

Sickles' jury order. I regard it as clear that Sickles' jury order contemplates the putting on the list from which jurors are to be drawn every citizen (black or white) who shall have paid taxes the current year; whether convicts for infamous crimes or not able to count twenty, and to draw the jury from this list. From a personal conversation with the General I understand his position to be that every citizen from whom the government exacts a tax, whether on property or the poll, must be held entitled to all the privileges of the most favored citizens. It will probably be expedient that the Court take no action until it be seen whether the opinion of the Atto. Genl shall be sustained and what action the Congress shall take in the premises.

I venture this suggestion, but you can see as deep into the darkness ahead as I can.

Genl. Sickles refuses to put any construction on his edicts. He holds that the authorities must construe them as they have to construe acts of the Assembly.

GATESVILLE.

To R. B. Paschal.

July 1 1867.

Yours of the 18th ult is received.

In regard to meeting of the General Assembly.

The Genl. Assembly having adjourned to a day certain, I have no power nor has Genl. Sickles the power, under the opinion of the Atto. Genl sanctioned by the President and his Cabinet, to prevent the meeting.

I know nothing you can do of any value, except to pass a Penitentiary bill.

It may be that the Congress, which it is believed will meet this week, may put such construction on the reconstruction acts or pass other acts for our government as may prevent your assembling.

PITTSBORO.

To John Williams.

July 1 1867.

Yours of the 24 ult. is before me.

Desire for immigration.

North Carolina is most anxious for emigration of industrious men from any where save Africa. They would be greeted and every thing done to make their settlement among us agreeable—but our people are so discouraged and depressed by the legislation of Congress, whereby we are required as the less of the evils in store for us, to make a new Constitution in effect placing the entire government of the State under the control of the most ignorant and degraded of our people and disfranchising nearly all those whose experience and intelligence fit them to take part in governmental affairs, that little interest is felt in

minor matters. We have no reason to expect that any action of this State touching the subject to which you call my attention would be treated by New York with the slightest respect.

Loyalty of North Carolina.

There are no people in the United States more anxious than the people of North Carolina to submit to the laws and constitution of the U. S., and to restore the fraternal relations with the other States which existed before the late war—but it is difficult to conceive of any measures better calculated to distress and discourage our people, and to keep alive and engender alienation than the measures of the Congress which seem to be in consonance with the will of the people in the dominant States. With continual threats of confiscating the little we have left and the overthrow of all semblance of civil government—and with our land swarming with emissaries black and white, seeking for party ascendency to consolidate the negro vote for the radicals—thereby producing alienation between the races;—and likely sooner or later to result in the extermination of the one race by the other—it is impossible that our people can take in interest in minor subjects of legislation. Very many of our people are entirely despondent, and I fear cannot be induced to register and vote.

NEW YORK CITY.

From Josiah Turner, Jr.

COMPANY SHOPS, N. C., *July 1, 1867.*

It is a matter of much *concern* to me that I see Winston and Dr. Ramsay before final action—which I hope you will be able to bring about. I shall be down on Wednesday.

[P. S.]—Boyden is not here and Morehead said he had gone to the West to remain until September.

To Nathaniel Boyden.

RALEIGH, *July 3 1867.*

Explanation of his not having been re-appointed a Railroad Director

In not recommending your re-appointment as a Director on the N. C. R. R., it is due to you to say that I have been influenced solely by the fact that the Journals of the board show that you have attended the meetings of the board only 4 out of 12 sittings. For the same reason I have not re-nominated Mr. Strange. I presume your attendance on the Courts or other duties you deemed more urgent, have caused this.

I desire it distinctly understood that nothing has occurred to impair my confidence in your eminent fitness for the position, but *solely* because I desire to appoint as directors men who can attend to the duties of the appointment.

SALISBURY.

To R. Strange.

RALEIGH, *July 3rd 1867.*

Explaining his failure to be re-appointed a Railroad Director.

It having been represented to the Board of Internal Improvement that you and Mr. Boyden (owing, as I presume, to your extensive practise of the law) had attended few of the meetings of the board, the board ordered the clerk to furnish us a certified copy of the attendance of each member. This certificate from June 1866 to July 1867 both inclusive, sets forth 10 sittings of the board, only four of which you attended. We have deemed it our duty to appoint stockholders, (in place of you and Mr. Boyden) whose business and large stock, we hope, will induce them to attend the meetings.

WILMINGTON.

From B. S. Hedrick.[1]

WASHINGTON, D. C. *July 3, 1867.*

Plans of Reconstruction.

Both houses met today. The program seems to be to appoint a joint committee of the two houses to prepare a supplemental reconstruction bill and *put it* through at once. It is of the utmost importance to bring all proper influences to bear on that Committee. If Judge Barnes, or any other citizen of N. C., desires to have any influence on what is to be done, *now* is the time to be here. The first draft of the new bill will probably go in Monday next. Please say what I have written above to Gov. Worth and such other gentlemen as you may meet. There may be a few men willing to come on to talk to Senators.

My son Johny will I think reach your city Saturday evening, and will call to see you.

From B. G. Worth.

NEW YORK *July 3/67.*

I am in receipt of your late favor and have been sorry I troubled you with this Coffin matter. I was using every effort to get it settled on the best basis that can be, by gently intimating where they will stand before a Court of Justice, where it must go if they decline to secure the bulk of it. Every day adds to the conviction with me that as a nation we have seen our best days, and that the Ben Wade doctrine will sweep over the Country and the *universally franchised* will utterly refuse to be taxed to pay the National debt. The National Banks will consume into smoke and we shall have anarchy and general ruin. How to prepare for it or guard against it is too much for the wisdom of the wisest. My only hope is that Grant will prove himself a man and not allow either of the Cor-

[1] This letter was probably written to W. H. Bagley.

rupt Parties of the Country to manipulate him, but be the candidate of the best people of all sections and govern as he could do and as no other man in my opinion in the republic—can, by controlling all parties. Did I say Republic? I take that back. We are not a Republic now. I have heard of your ill success in your fishing excursions. I am very sorry to hear that Dr. Roberts is in feeble health. We are well and constant employment keeps us up and in great measure from despondency.

I must go to N. C. this month. I may possibly come by and stop one day in Raleigh. I am concerned about J. A. Worth's affairs and would like to know how to advise him. I want to make such arrangements as will guaranty business for our Boats. We must make them pay. I am clearly of the opinion that J. A. Worth ought to sell to us to whom he is indebted his home place and what will secure us and enable us to secure him a home and then go into Bankruptcy at once. They will not count with him here and of course he can not pay and ought to shake it off while he can. It may be that the subject was talked over between you while on your late visit. If not and you can get the time write me to care of Worth & Daniel that I may use your opinion with your own in advising with him. If you talked with him then throw this by and give it no thought. I begin to feel like we have not lost all and are perfectly sound and will come out all right, but we have had a siege. I am not entirely satisfied with my copartners but might do much worse and can see my interest at present to continue rather than attempt to change.

From John Goodrich.

ENFIELD, N. C. *July 4th 1867.*

Political suggestions.

Governor: It seems to me that the *Black* Republicans are losing ground. I would like to know if *you* do not

think so. There appears to be some sensation of uneasiness among the Radicals. All we white folks down here have concluded we don't want any convention nor reconstruction either. We are willing to hold on a little longer and see if the most infernal of all parties will not commit suicide. It seems to me sir that a plan might be devised to overturn the *Black* Republican Rump. Let me suggest a plan. "Suppose a party be formed, and adopt this motto *"White Republican Union Party."* Sir can you not contemplate what would be the result. I think that the *Black* Republicans would at once become ashamed of their position, and that there would be such a backsliding as the world never witnessed before. I think too Sir, that in less than two years and a half the negroes, and them alone, would compose what is now known as the Black Republican Party: would not every white foreigner coming into this country hereafter join the *white* man party? I think so. Sir a white republican union party ought to be organized at once. The desired effect would soon be seen, and it would be tremendous. This I offer as a suggestion, and desire to see it put on foot. You perceive that all turns on the terms White and Union. These terms would give us all the advantage. As to the negro vote, if indeed they should vote, we must influence it. If we can keep the enemy off a little longer, his cause will perish.

[P. S.]—The White Republican union party should be organized first in the North. Will you suggest it to some proper person of your acquaintance there.

From D. G. McRae to Seaton Gales.

Fort Macon *July 6th 1867.*

Concerning his approaching trial.

I have private information as well as public by the *Sentinel* that the military commission for my trial is to convene in your city on the 10th of this month.

These military courts move slowly and I fear unless some of my friends intercede with the proper officer who will have me in charge, that I may be subjected to confinement in some dirty place, as the "Bull pen" is represented to be.

Now would it be imposing too much on your kindness, to ask you, to get Gov. Worth to join you and Col. Banford on this subject.

I have been very kindly cared for thus far, and as I expect to establish my entire innocence of the charge imputed to me, it would be grateful to myself as well as my friends to know, that I have not been thrust into any dirty cell, among vermin, cut-throats, and thieves.

Please if you can, see Gov. Worth immediately and fix matters. For particular and special reasons, I do not want to fall into the further power of Genl. Avery. He and I had a private misunderstanding in his first visit to Fayetteville, I parted with a threat from him, that I should suffer—*that night,* the affidavit of the base wretch was obtained, which caused my arrest, and *verily the threat* of Avery has come to pass—I have suffered—for an old man of sixty years.

To R. P. Dick.

Raleigh *July 7 1867.*

Plans of the North Carolina Radicals.

To carry out the resolutions passed here on the 4th, calling for an Act of Congress to abolish civil government in the State a committee consisting of Calvin Cowles and several other persons white and black, left to-day for Washington. They oppose leaving any discretion in the military commandants. They demand an act peremptorily dismissing all the civil officers of the State.

They allege as one of their chief reasons for this action, that Gov. Graham and myself and others are machinating

to defeat the call of a Convention, and that R. R. directors have been appointed in reference to their political views.

I have not attempted to influence the vote of any citizen for or against the call of a Convention and have no intention to do so. I have not heard of any scheme adopted, or in contemplation by any body, to induce the people to vote against a Convention,—and I do not know and have not heard that one single man appointed a Director on the R. Rs. proposes to vote against Convention. Not a Director has been appointed with any reference whatever to his views as to the re-construction acts. I have cooperated with Genl Sickles to carry out in good faith the re-construction acts, as has every other civil officer, so far as I know. And I believe 9-10 of those entitled to register will vote for Convention.

I would regard it as a very great calamity—alike mischievous to the State and the nation, if all vestige of civil government were suddenly obliterated.

I wish you to go to Washington at once to co-operate with Hedrick, Goodloe and others to prevent the great calamity which seems to be in store for us. If you go, your expenses will be paid.

You may use this letter as you please.

I had not decided on this measure until mail hour is so near that I have been compelled to write very briefly.

GREENSBORO.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH, *July 8th 1867.*

Plans of North Carolina Radicals.

I understand Calvin Cowles and others are gone to Washington to ask for the abolition of civil authorities of this State, on the ground that I and Gov. Graham and others are using our influence to defeat the call of a Convention and that I have had this in view in the appoint-

ment of R. R. directors. I have not used and do not intend to use any influence to induce the people to vote for or against Convention. No schemes to defeat the call of a Convention are on foot. I have co-operated in good faith with Genl. Sickles in carrying out the re-construction acts, as I believe have all our people. There is not color of truth as to appointment of R. R. Directors. An immense majority will vote for Convention.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To B. S. Hedrick.

July 8th 1867.

Plans of North Carolina Radicals.

A desperate effort is being made by Mr. Holden and his followers to have the existing civil Government set aside and pure military government established. A resolution to this effect was proposed at a large Convocation of negroes assembled here on the 4th in which Holden and a few whites of his stripe officiated. If this scheme of malevolence, on the part of Holden shall be successful, the cup of our misfortunes will be full. Can it be possible, that in a State, where, even upon the testimony of Genl. Sickles, perfect order prevails—where the civil authorities have not only offered no resistance to Congressional plans of re-construction—that where every civil officer as well as every citizen has obeyed every order which has been issued by the military commandant, that Congress shall deem it expedient, upon the representation of such a political Assemblage to blot out all semblance of self government. If so, no one can be so blind as not to see that its effect would be the reverse of attracting our people to the National Government. This assemblage was got up under color of celebrating the great National Anniversary, but no one doubts that through the agency of the secret political leagues among the negroes, tolerated if not encouraged by the dominant power of the National

Government, working politicians got up the meeting for the purpose of passing the resolutions they did pass. A committee of six, three white and three black, headed by Calvin Cowles of Wilkes, were appointed to go to Washington and press this resolution upon the favorable consideration of Congress. If they have not already started they will probably leave to-day. If Holden succeeds in this scheme, which seems not unlikely, his malevolence will be gratified, but civil liberty in this State will have received a shock which will be most disastrous.

I hope you and Mr. Goodloe, to whom I wish you to show this letter, will entitle yourselves to the further gratification of North Carolina, by employing the most efficient means in your power, to defeat this scheme.

If this measure be adopted I fear we shall be unable to get our people to register or take any further part in elections.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To J. M. Coffin.

July 8th 1867.

Recommending Josiah Turner.

My friend Jo. Turner is most urgent upon me, to ask you the favor to vote for him for Prest. of the N. C. R. R.

If I were called upon to cast a vote, I would vote for him as against any other person whom I have heard as competing for the office, under the belief that he would be the best and most efficient officer, but I have nominated no one as a Director, under any pledge as to his vote for President, nor have I made, nor do I deem it proper to make any request of any director.

I wish each Director to consider himself untrammeled by any interference on my part. I have appointed a set of Directors who are qualified and willing, as I hope, to manage the road in the best manner, and no Director must shelter himself, for any of his acts, under cover of any request from me.

I have become more and more averse to selling the drug store on a credit,—however good the security. I deem it safer to go into a co-partnership with Pondston on the terms I suggested in your presence. If he will do his part properly, it will be a better management for him and me, than a sale on a credit, if he could have given the security. Dr. Roberts seems cheered up and much better. I fear it is only temporary.

SALISBURY.

To General D. E. Sickles.

July 9th 1867.

Defending his attitude on Reconstruction.

I learned last night that much pains is being taken to make the impression, that I have been using my influence to induce the people of this State to vote against Convention. It is due to myself and the people of the State to say that I have not attempted to use any such influence to control the votes of the people on any question on which they will be called upon to vote under the reconstruction Acts. I have had it in contemplation to publish an address to the people urging all to register who may be allowed to do so and to exercise the franchise as they may deem best for the general welfare.

I have deemed it my duty to co-operate with you in carrying out these acts fairly and honestly.

I am also informed that the impression is sought to be made that Gov. Graham and others are endeavoring to concoct measures to defeat the call of a Convention. There is no color of foundation for this, as to me, nor as to others, so far as I know or have heard I have not heard of any movement on the part of those who approved of the President's plan of reconstruction, and who disapproved of the Congressional plan, to throw any obstacles in the way of carrying out the latter plan, and I am sure no attempt has been made or is in contemplation to get up any such concerted movement.

I deem it probable that the foregoing and probably other misrepresentations intended to alienate the confidence you have hitherto exhibited towards me, have been made to you, which I trust will not be allowed to operate to my prejudice, until I shall have had an opportunity to be heard.

Charleston.

To B. S. Hedrick.

July 9th 1867.

Plans of North Carolina Radicals.

I learn from a reliable source that Mr. C. J. Cowles, who has gone to your city to get the Congress to displace the civil officers of the State, urges two chief reasons—first, that I, Gov. Graham, Judge Manly and other prominent men are using our influence to induce the people to vote against Convention—second—that we have been concocting some concerted plan to carry out our design.

I approved the President's views as to restoration and disapproved the Congressional plan as is well known; but I felt it my duty, after the re-construction acts passed, to recognise them as laws and faithfully and fairly to aid in their execution. I felt myself officially bound to recognise them as constitutional, until they should be repealed or decided to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the U. S.—and such decision I have not expected would be made before the acts would be carried into execution.

I decided that I would co-operate honestly with the military authority in making proper registers and in all other particulars as I understood these laws—and that I would use no influence in any thing, save to induce the people to register. I have not used and do not contemplate using, any influence as to the voting of the people after registration. And I know of no intention on the part of any body to get up any plan to defeat the call of a Convention, and have no idea that any such plan exists.

Whether under the act now contemplated, leaving registration to the discretion of the Registers, I shall deem it my duty to recommend the people to apply for registration I reserve for consideration until I shall see the form the act may assume.

You are at liberty to use this letter as you please,—by which I do not mean that you have it published. I do not deem it expedient, at present, to get the matter into the press.

In 1861 I voted against the call of what I regarded as an unconstitutional Convention. I have not deemed it necessary to come to any decision, whether, if I were allowed a vote, which I am not, I would vote for or against the proposed Convention. I may have expressed in private conversation that I could not see how I could vote for the proposed Convention, consistently with my oath to support the Constitution of the U. S., but I have never expressed such sentiment as a fixed conclusion and never with the intention to influence any body or with permission to promulgate such conversation.

I am as anxious as any man in America, to see harmonious Union restored and the Constitution of the U. S. obeyed and reverenced by the whole people.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Lewis J. Quin.

July 9 1867.

Yours of May 1/67 was received with highly complimentary introduction from F. P. Satterthwaite and T. Sparrow.

If it were in my power, under existing laws, to do anything in furtherance of your suggestions, or if the present political prospects warranted any well founded hope of improvement in the early future, I should exert myself

in the direction indicated. In the present state of affairs I can have no hope for the successful issue of any movement, on the part of N. Car., looking to immigration.

NEW YORK CITY.

From P. T. Henry.

COLERAIN, BERTIE COUNTY.

Permit me to ask you if in your opinion the Legislature will be permitted to assemble next month (Augt.) and if so what length of time it is likely to be in *Session?*

I ask this information of you Gov., because from your opinion I should make up my mind as to whether I shall attend the *Session.*

I am having but little to say or do with politics, but have no hesitation in saying that I belong heart and soul only to the white man's party—God and my own *race first*—Please present the compliments of my wife and self to your family. Hatie says she is very anxious to see your little grand daughter Mary Worth.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *July 11, 67.*

North Carolina Radical opinion.

Yours of the 9th received. Everything here is still in a chaotic state. For several days I have been too ill to exert myself much, but I am doing what I can to give correct information. The several delegations from N. C. are here today, and a number of them have called at my room. Calvin J. Cowles of Wilkes is in a great fever over a mob which he is informed occurred at Wilkesborough on the fourth of July. According to the account which he showed me the "rebs" under the lead of Col.

Armfield or Armstrong, a Mr. Carmichael, Peden and some half dozen other "fighting rebs" broke up the "union celebration" of the 4th, and shot, wounded, and completely routed the whole meeting. Cowles thinks that if he had been there he would have been *killed.* I suppose he will lay the whole matter before Congress, and ask for aid to suppress the "rebs." I told him that I thought that the union men were too tame, to submit to a rout from a dozen or so "rebs". I would like really to know what the truth of the matter is. It seems that the disturbers insisted that Col. Armfield should have a chance to speak at the meeting, which being refused, he and his followers broke up the "Celebration."

Mr. Cawthorne, (colored) of Warren is also here. He takes a hopeful view of things in his section. Thinks the "rebs" accept in good faith the reconstruction act. C. L. Harris is also here, but I have not seen him. Take it all in all these men here are the most *mixed* up set I have seen. If Congress would only take the trouble to *sift them,* they would amount to nothing. But unfortunately I fear this will not be done. The men who ought to be here to meet the members of Congress are not here. Why is it that men like Judge Merrimon, Gilliam, Warren, Battle, Pearson, Fowle, Buxton are not here? At least some of them?

I hope I shall be better tomorrow.

To General D. E. Sickles.

July 11 1867.

By some accident or inadvertance, as I suppose, your order to Col. Bomford to surrender to me the executive mansion and premises, has not reached him, as he informs me, so that he does not feel at liberty to put me in possession.

As I received from you a telegram that such order had issued, I hope a duplicate will be sent to the Colonel.

The liberal and just sentiments expressed by you, (as set forth in a telegram of yesterday) in a letter to Senator Trumbull, enlighten our people.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

To P. T. Henry.

July 11th 1867.

Regarding the meeting of the General Assembly.

Yours, without date, inquiring whether the Genl. A. will meet 3rd Monday of August, is just recd. I have no reliable information whether Genl. Sickles will forbid the assembling or not. I presume power will be conferred on him by the Congress to control all the civil affairs of the State. I have written him to know whether he has come to any decision, as it is important that members know, as early as possible, whether they will be allowed to assemble and legislate.

I think the Genl. A. ought to meet and pass a Penitentiary bill. I know of nothing else of any importance on which it is *now* expedient that the Legislature act.

I fear the black and white negro will become the controlling power of the State, under re-construction acts of Congress. This is the manifest design of the Congress:— and if our white men will not register and vote, the domination of negro party is enevitable.

* * * * * * *

COLERAIN, BERTIE CO.

To Post Master, Pigeon River, N. C.

July 11 1867.

Appointment of registers.

I have recd a letter, signed "Many Citizens," making inquiry as to appointment of Registers for your County, and desiring that my answer be directed to you.

I recommended as registers for Haywood, James Owensby, Thomas N. Long and Jas. L. Ducket.

I understand that Genl. Miles, Chief of the Freedmen's Bureau in this State, forwarded recommendations of one or more boards for each County, one member of each board being a negro.

I am not informed which recommendation Genl Sickles adopted. I recd from him to-day a telegram that registration in this State is postponed to a time hereafter to be made known. I infer that it is postponed until the new legislation of this Congress now sitting shall be known.

To P. H. Winston.

July 12 1867.

Issue of bonds.

An act passed the last Genl. A. intended to provide that whenever the Prest. of the W. N. C. R. R. should certify that a given amount of money had been subscribed by responsible individuals or corporations, that the Pub. Tr. should issue bonds of the State for double such amount. A certificate is filed that $460,000. has been so subscribed and bonds to the amount of $800,000. are demanded.

The responsibility of the issue of this amount of our bonds at this time, is a very grave one. I was not willing to sanction the order without your approval. The legislation of the last session involves an examination of previous acts, and I have not been able to give the matter the scrutiny which it should receive and am by no means sure that it is our duty to issue the bonds. I have no doubt the subscription of $400,000. is coupled with a contract to do work not worth more than $400,000. (for which the contractors are to have $1,200,000. in stock and State bonds.

I most earnestly urge that you come here *very soon* to assist me in scrutinizing this matter and to assume your share of the grave responsibility of the Board of Intl Improvements.

Kittrell's Springs.

From B. S. Hedrick.

Washington, D. C. *July 12, 67.*

So far I think Holden's delegation amounts to nothing. It looks now as if the Senate bill passed yesterday will go through Congress. It is in a hurry to get away.

I feel a little more hopeful than I did yesterday, but while all the leading men seem in favor of taking off the disfranchising parts of the reconstruction acts, no one will move it. The only thing at all looking like moderation is the requiring Gen. Grant's approval of removals.

To W. H. Seward.

July 22 1867.

Asking aid in securing immigration.

Of our funds to support common schools the war annihilated all save $600,000. in the stock of the Wilmington and Weldon and Wilmington and Manchester R. Rs. and some $1,000,000. in our ante-bellum bonds. These roads are well equipped and in good order and doing much business but so crippled with debt that they make no dividends. If our political trouble were composed on a rational basis these stocks would revive.

We have had an annual income of about $10,000. arising from tax on retailers. This will probably be reduced to a nominal sum, by reason of late edicts of Genl. Sickles.

The Literary board, of which board the Gov. is ex-officio Chm., owns about 1,500,000 acres of Swamp lands which they are authorised to sell and invest for the support of common schools.

We believe these lands to be exceedingly valuable, and with the hope of finding purchasers have published a pamphlet describing them. I inclose a copy. We would like to get some of them in the hands of suitable persons in England and Ireland,—and our consuls and other resi-

dent officers in Germany. I do not know the names of these officers. Will it be asking too much of you, if we send you a package of them, to have them directed and forwarded abroad, to such persons as you may think would be willing and disposed to aid us?

The sale of these lands is our only resource for reviving Common Schools, which, dependent as we are, we are most anxious to do. We have public school houses accessible to every child in the State, unoccupied and going to decay.

I am most reluctant to ask this favor of you and shall not feel the less obliged for past favors if I shall have asked an unreasonable favor of you in this instance.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To James L. Orr.

July 22nd 1867.

Concerning resignation of Judge Merrimon.

In conference with Genl. Sickles at Charleston, I understood him to say he should not interfere with but would leave with the Governors all the appointments to office which the Constitution and Laws of our respective States authorise the Governor to fill. I do not remember that he has published any thing of this sort in his orders. A case is about to occur in this State. A part of the official oath of our Judges is in these words: "In case any letter or orders come to me contrary to law, I will proceed to enforce the law, such letters or orders notwithstanding." He thinks he cannot obey the orders of Genl. Sickles in conflict with the laws of the State, consistently with this portion of the official oath: and tenders his resignation rather than incur the probable consequences disregarding these orders.

Whether our other Judges will take the same view and resign, I am not informed. Under the present Acts of

Congress the new appointee must take the Congressional teste oath. I fear if the filling of the vacancy or vacancies be conceded to me, that I cannot find a man in the State fit to fill the position, who can fill the station respectably.

The judge to whom I refer, Merrimon, always distinguished for his Union proclivities and universally respected for his unsullied honor and judicial fairness and ability, holds that no other authority, save that under which he holds his commission, can relieve him from the requirements of his oath.

The object, however, of this letter is to inquire whether you understood Genl. Sickles as confiding to us the filling of vacancies in office, where the Constitution and Laws of our respective States authorise the Governor to fill such vacancy.

If Genl. Sickles shall be coming up to Columbia at any early day and it shall be agreeable to him and to you, I should gladly meet you in further conference. I am utterly bewildered and would most gladly have a further conference with him and you.

Columbia, S. C.

To John Baxter.

July 25th 1867.

* * * * * * *

Political conditions in North Carolina.

Terrible as is our political situation it seems to me it is still worse in Te. The radicals of this State—we have a good many—are even as vindictive as Stephens or Butler or Logan, and as prescriptive as Brownlow—with the negroes everywhere organised and secret political leagues—and our people so intimidated or paralysed that very many who are allowed to vote, will not register—Holden and his followers constantly demanding the total abolition of the Civil government, and every officer of the State holding his position at the will of the military commandant.

All is gloom and we see little ground to hope for a better state of things at any early day—but much reason to fear that the Revolution has in store for us still greater ills than those we now suffer.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

To A. C. Haley.

July 26 1867.

I inclose pamphlet touching our swamp lands. I have taken much pains to free the title of the State from all cloud, as to the lands we propose to sell. Much of this land was granted about the year 1795, in large swamps, to parties contemplating speculation, who failed to accomplish their views, and the lands were subsequently sold for taxes and bid in for the State. I have collected and am having duly recorded the deeds showing the reacquisition of these lands by the State. We do not propose to sell any where the slightest cloud rests on the State title—and the Literary Board, a corporation owning stocks and property of large value, will warrant the title of any land they may sell. Describing swamp lands for sale.

We would like to sell in a body the large swamp, containing about 90,000 acres, a part of which has been cleared and is owned by Mr. Franck. See his certificate. It is believed to be of immense value. We would like it at $2. per acre payable in the ante-bellum bonds of the State: and give satisfactory evidence of our title and the warranty of the Board.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To William A. Graham.

Raleigh, *July 27 1867.*

Concerning the proposed resignation of President Swain.

I am informed that you have been furnished by Govr. Swain with a copy of his letter to me of the 23rd inst.

The portion of it, if any, requiring action, is in these words "It only remains to intimate that seeing little reason to hope, from the present indications of public sentiment, for the early success which crowned former exertions, I am ready to give place to any one who can assume my position under more favorable auspices, at the earliest period at which the board may be pleased to designate a successor."

On first reading this I regarded it as the expression of a wish on his part to resign, and resolved to make a strenuous appeal to the *whole body* of trustees to meet and decide what is best to be done. On a more careful consideration, I cannot construe it to amount to any thing but an expression of his willingness to resign, if the Trustees think they can fill his place with some one more likely to better the prospects of the institution. I presume there has never been a time when he would not have been willing to resign, upon the request of the Trustees, it must be, not to fill a vacancy, but to consider the question whether they ought to request Gov. Swain to resign under the belief that they could supply a superior likely to manage the University, under more favorable auspices.

I feel embarrassed as to the action I ought to take, since I cannot construe this letter as expressing any wish of Gov. Swain to resign.

Three of the prominent members of the Executive Committee, Bragg, Moore and Bryan are out of the city and I do not know when they will return.

I will be much obliged to you for your advice as to the action proper to be taken by me. I know no two men in the State who have exhibited more constant and intelligent

zeal as trustees, than yourself and Judge Ruffin and should be obliged by any suggestion either of you may feel willing to make.

I have inclined to the opinion for some time past, that Gov. Swain, chiefly on account of his deafness, ought to resign, but if he should do so, I think he ought to express his wish to retire, and not merely to say what he would always have said—"I will resign if the Trustees request it".

HILLSBORO.

To A. S. Merrimon.

August 1 1867.

Concerning his resignation from the Bench.

I wrote to Genl. Sickles, inclosing your resignation on the 23rd ult. He has not answered. I send to-day a telegram inquiring whether he has recd my letter. The delay is very annoying. I have not accepted your resignation. If he takes no action (very improbable) I suppose it would be your duty to continue to discharge your official duties until the resignation shall be accepted. If he consult me as to a successor he is giving me too little time.

To W. P. Bynum.

August 1 1867.

Concerning Judge Merrimon's resignation.

Fearing that the resignation of Judge Merrimon, which he puts on the ground that he cannot obey Genl. S's orders (where they conflict with the laws of the State) consistently with his official oath, might lead to consequences disastrous to the best interests of the State, I have not accepted it, but inclosed a copy of it to Genl Sickles on 23 July, calling his attention to the oath our judges take. I suggested that he designate a day when he would meet all our judges here, with the view, by a free conference,

of inducing Judge M. to withdraw his resignation and to avoid further difficulty to be apprehended from other resignations. I also desired to know, in case he declined to act on my suggestions, whether he desired any action on my part, as to the filling of the vacancy. Having recd. no answer I send him a telegram to-day to know whether he recd my letter.

I regretted judge M's resignation but I concur with him as to the import of his oath; and in that view cannot perceive how he could have acted otherwise, as a conscientious man, with the apparent certainty that he would be deposed and punished, if he continued to act with fidelity to his official oath. Nor do I see how any suitable successor can be found who will not only take the same oath, but the "iron clad" superadded.

Awful fix.

Lincolnton.

To J. T. Morehead.

August 1 1867.

Judge Merrimon's resignation.

In some of our numerous interviews, I am under the impression that you told me you could take the oath of office, popularly known, as the iron-clad.

Judge Merrimon has tendered his resignation, for the reason that he thinks he cannot obey the orders of Genl. Sickles, consistently with his official oath.

I have not accepted the resignation, setting forth the reason of the judge for resigning to be his conviction that he could not obey the orders of Genl. S. consistently with his official oath. I sent a copy of his resignation to Genl. S. on the 23rd ult, to which I have received no reply. I invited him to a conference with Judge M. and our other judges, in the hope of avoiding total disorganization.

It is possible that the Genl. may ask me, with or without the advice of my council, to suggest a successor. The

Circuit to which he is assigned begins 12th Aug. If you think you can take the oath, and my advice is invited, I desire to nominate you.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

GREENSBORO.

To W. T. Faircloth.

Aug. 2 1867.

If you prosecuted Lewis Cogdell, please give me information touching the facts of the case, with any observations likely to aid me in acting discreetly in the matter, explained by the enclosed reference.

It seems most extraordinary to me that a Sheriff should ask the interposition of the military authority upon his statement of the facts proved on a trial, which, in his opinion, did not warrant conviction.

If the trial was in a County Court will you please forward the inclosed copy to the County Atto. with this letter with my request to be informed about the matter.

I desire an answer *as early as practicable.*

GOLDSBORO.

To William Kelso.

Aug. 4 1867.

I have received your letter with inclosures.

Business conditions in North Carolina.

Our State has by nature and by the character of its people, offers most attractive invitation to the immigration of men skilled as you represent yourself to be: but the vengeance with which we are continually threatened by the North,—the establishment of military rule over us under pretext that we are lawless, when we *know* that crime is less frequent than in Massachusetts—and Justice administered with at least equal ability and impartiality—

paralyse and depress us to such extent that we have no heart for enterprises. Capital cannot be raised here for any new enterprise.

I am interested in two cotton factories in Randolph County for spinning cotton yarn and weaving sheeting. They are about 1-½ miles apart and belong to the same company. The water power is excellent—The factory buildings superior brick structures. They were built and put in operation some twenty years ago—Originally cost some $85,000. Were purchased by present proprietors—some 14 men—before the war for $31,000. and $9,000. more paid in as working capital. The enormous taxes exacted by the U. S., and continually declining price of cotton since the close of the war, have made our operations unprofitable. Every member of the company is a man of substantial means. The present manager, Geo. Makepeace, formerly of Mass., informs me he wishes to retire from the management. A meeting of the company will be held some 6 weeks hence. If you think, by the introduction of the manufacture of other articles or otherwise we might mutually profit each other, it is possible an arrangement might be made giving to you and your brothers the management of these establishments. There is probably no more healthy or less expensive place in this State.

Cambridgeport, Mass.

To J. M. Parrott.

Raleigh, *Aug. 4/67.*

I find I shall be out of corn shortly. Please send me 100 bushels in the ear at whatever may be the market value.

Request for certain information.

A letter written by Mr. Cox, Shff., of your County to a military officer stationed at Kinston, sent up through the regular gradations to Genl. Sickles, has been referred

to me, in which Shff. Cox undertakes to set forth the evidence on which a negro in his custody was convicted and sentenced to six months imprisonment for stealing two knives from the merchant whose store was robbed and burned in Kinston some time ago. The Sheriff gives it as his opinion that the conviction was not warranted by the evidence and asks the military to discharge the convict. The convict's name, I think, is Lewis Cogdell. The letter is referred to me, with the suggestion by Genl. S's Provost Marshal-Genl., that the case "appears to be one deserving executive clemency". I have declined pardoning until I can know more about the case. The action of the Sheriff, virtually condemning the action of the Court and jury, and appealing to the military to relieve the alleged oppression of the negro, without making any previous appeal to me for the relief of the oppressed convict, seems to me most extraordinary. Do you know whether the conviction was before the County or Supr. Court. If in the Supr. Court—before what judge was the trial? If in the Co. Court give me the name of your County Atto. I will be obliged to you for any information you can give me touching this matter, and will not use the name without your permission. If your Shff. deemed the verdict wrong, or the sentence of the Court too severe, he should have applied to the Court to recommend the convict for pardon by me; or have asked the jury to so recommend, before making an appeal to the military for relief, unless the sheriff lacks confidence in the intelligence and fairness of the jury and Court which tried the case and in me. I presume he was not ignorant that Genl. Sickles had not interferred with the pardoning power vested in the Govr. by our State Constitution. I cannot conceive why he should have applied to the military to pardon the convict, before making any trial to obtain a pardon from the Governor. The affair is a most extraordinary one.

Kinston.

To William B. Harkness.

August 5 1867.

Giving information in regard to the State.

Yours of the 29th ult. is before me.

I send you three documents of recent date. I am willing to be responsible for the facts stated in them. If I had tried to select and condense, would be willing they should appear over by signature. I have not such time. If you think it proper to make such statement, I will give it my signature.

We have a State University and several other colleges. The University is in a most eligible location—spacious, durable and suitable buildings, with very extensive libraries, philosophical apparatus, a very extensive Geological and Mineralogical Cabinet etc. The buildings, books, etc. were not disturbed by the war, but the large endowment, consisting of Bank stocks, is all lost. It is a first class institution—had upwards of 400 receiving instruction in it before the war—The number now is about 100. We had a system of common schools—a school house in reach of every child in the State. Nearly all the fund sustaining the system was lost by the war. Its present stocks, in Rail Roads and ante-bellum State bonds, all of which will revive if the North shall allow the re-establishment of a rational system of State government, amount to about $1,000,000. It is hoped that these schools can be re-established by the sale of the swamp lands described in the pamphlet I send you.

The almanack inclosed will furnish you the names of our State officers.

The infinite variety of duties involved on the "so-called Gov" of the State, or Territory of North Carolina, makes it impossible to comply as fully with your request, as I would most willingly do so under other circumstances. I have sent your letter to a competent gentlemen and asked him, if possible, to prepare the article for you, but as he, like most of us, is compelled to work for his daily bread,

I fear he may not have leisure to prepare the paper, and I therefore send you the material.

The gentleman to whom I refer is C. H. Wiley, late State Supt. of our Common School System.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

To Louis Quin.

August 5 1867.

Your communication, dated May last, with references which command my highest regard, was duly received. Conditions in North Carolina.

The political condition and prospect of the State and the uncertainty of the tenure by which civil officers of the State hold their positions, paralyse all effort and leave little ground to hope for the success of the enterprise you suggest, even if I had power under existing laws to further your views, which I have not.

If a state of things should unexpectedly occur by which I shall see a reasonable chance of employing your services in a way likely to benefit you and the State, I shall not forget your application. We have no hope now save the slight one drawn from the saying that "the darkest hour is just before day".

I send you pamphlet, touching our Swamp lands.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

To D. Rumley.

August 7 1867.

I hope you did not construe my intimation as to the propriety of returning your thanks to Mr. Hedrick as admitting of the implication that I desired any thing of this kind for my efforts to serve you. What *I* did, I did in discharge of a *public duty* and I hold you under no special obligations to me. It was otherwise as to Mr. Hedrick.

WILMINGTON.

To Thomas S. Ashe.[1]

Aug. 7 1867.

Judge Merrimon's resignation.

If we shall be unable to induce Merrimon to withdraw his resignation, can we fill the vacancy with a more suitable name than of Alex. Little? Would he accept? If you think the answer would be negative, can you suggest a more acceptable name? I beg you to be prepared to answer. I would prefer the merest tyro in the law to one not to the manor born.

I am not prepared to make a nomination.

WADESBORO.

To W. A. Wright.

Aug. 7 1867.

Judge Merrimon's resignation.

In the event we shall be constrained to fill the vacancy on the bench, occasioned by the resignation of Judge Merrimon, I desire to fill it by a North Carolinian even though he be a tyro in the law. Be prepared, if you can, to suggest a name. Could Danl B. Baker take the oath? Would he accept? Is he a suitable man? Would Alex. Little suit you better if he would accept? Can you suggest any other more acceptable name?

WILMINGTON.

To W. P. Bynum.

Aug. 8 1867.

University affairs.

I hope you may be able to get some bro. lawyer to attend to your business and that you may be able to attend

[1] Thomas S. Ashe, of Anson county, had been a member of the legislature in 1842 and 1854. In 1864 he was elected to the Confederate Senate but never took his seat. In 1868 he ran against W. W. Holden for the governorship and was defeated. He was elected to Congress in 1872 and in 1874. In 1878 he became an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

the meeting of the Trustees of the University. I regard the action of the meeting as involving the life or death of the institution.

A commission such as you suggest was appointed at the annual meeting in June 1866, consisting of, I think, W. A. Graham, D. Ferebee and Judge Battle. They met at the University some time afterwards, held consultations with the faculty and perhaps others, and submitted a lengthy report, exhibiting evidences of having bestowed much consideration on the subject and making sundry recommendations. We have not been able since to get together a respectable number of the Trustees. At the last annual Commencement there were less than 1-2 doz. trustees present—and I greatly fear that the great majority of them will not be present.

If a complete reorganization of the faculty be necessary, or at least the election of a new head, as you think, in which many concur, that election ought to be made at any early day. Who would be the fittest successor of Govr. Swain? What feasible plans of remedying the financial embarrassment of the institution can you suggest? If you cannot attend the proposed meeting are you prepared to make any suggestions on these questions?

LINCOLNTON.

From B. S. Hedrick.

WASHINGTON, D. C. *Aug. 9, 1867.*

I learn from my wife today that she will not leave Beaufort until Monday morning next, (12th) which will I suppose bring her to Goldsborough about noon of that day.

[P. S.] If you get a pass in time for that train it will answer.

To Mark E. Lawrence.

August 13 1867.

I have no reason to hope that any application to any Dept. of the U. S. Government for indemity for the burning of your jail would be of any avail now. If such indemnity may ever be hoped for, it will be after we have representatives in Congress who may not deem such burning to have been all right.

Newton.

To James M. Sprunt.

August 13 1867.

Yours of the 10th inst. has been received.

All the correspondence of this office with clerks and Registers, to enable us to establish the validity of the title of the State to lands claimed by the Literary Board, has been conducted by Genl. Gwynn, agent of the Lit. Board, over my signature, but I have not time to read and have not read one letter in 20 to which I have affixed my signature. I have no knowledge of the circumstances to which you call my attention. Genl. Gwynn is now in Hyde. On his return I will call his attention to yr letter.

Kenansville.

From B. Higgins.

Fisher Hill, Guilford County.

August 13, 1867.

I take the liberty to enclose to you the writer's ideas which I wrote last winter but never had published. The subject of Railroads and Minerals I have been engaged in for over 20 years, for 12 years I have been in the State and my observations and experience have suggested the ideas

herewith presented and seeing the subject of a penitentiary thro Genl. Sickles's orders soon to be considered in council I am desirous to have you read this from no motive but public good.

[*Enclosure.*]

Products of North Carolina and business opportunities in the State.

I propose to enquire of the reader and the public whether there is any enterprise that can be offered to the people of North Carolina that would be self-sustaining under the patronage of the State Government and if so in what way could it be accomplished. The inertia of business of all kinds in the absence of Capital or Banks is discouraging to every class of people. Crops for two years past or more have been insufficient to feed the people. The soils of the Middle and Western Counties are generally impoverished, and need fertilizers, Farmers are in want of tools or good instruments to cultivate the soil. Merchants are selling at cost, and can realize but little money, and there is no prospect now before the people to sustain hope, except that Seed-time and harvest shall not fail, and "faith without works is dead". But what shall we do?. While everything in nature is moving, as an example for the people to work, there are no Towers or Temples to be built to excite the people to work. We have to amend our Constitution which is a small job and which can be done by a few Prime Movers, the modulus having been fixed by a function and a base. The State was originally a State and is yet a State. Therefore in that question there is no money, nor will it incite the people to work. We must look then to our Natural advantages and present condition for something to stimulate and encourage the people. On the East we are bounded on the Atlantic Coast for 300 miles with good harbours, bays, and navigable rivers, open to the Commerce of other Nations, both winter and summer our Rivers West of Raleigh in any County to the Georgia and Sampson line afford extensive water power and railroads extend across the

State, East and West, also North and South, connecting harbours on the coast with trunk lines of Roads from other States. Our spring waters are clear, cool, and to be found on every plantation in the Middle and Western Counties—our River water is soft and clear for manufacturing woollen goods. The climate for health is not excelled by any other place on the Globe. The Eastern Counties produce cotton, corn, rice, and rosin. The Middle and Western Counties produce wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and flax, tobacco, and some cotton. Sheep can be raised easily and wool produced in large quantities. Our Forests abound with Pine, Cyprus and Oaks, and hard and soft woods of all kinds. The finest of grapes grow spontaneously and the most delicate kinds may be cultivated to any extent. In Minerals North Carolina is not surpassed by any State on the Eastern Slope of the Alleghenys. In nearly all the Counties West from Franklin, Wake, Johnson, Cumberland, and Richmond to Cherokee—Gold, Silver, Lead, Zinc, Iron, Copper, and the associated Metals and Minerals are in profuse quantities, also Mineral Coals, Salts, Mineral Springs, Slates, Alum, Limes, Clays, Marbles, Stealites, Plumbago, etc., some of which deserve special notice as valuable motors to industry. Of these will be selected ores of Iron, Copper, and their associates Coals, Lime, Marble, etc.

Iron ores.

Extensive deposits and veins of these ores, of the most valuable and desirable kinds, for the manufacture of Iron and Steel are to be found in several Counties of this State. The Magnetic oxides the Specular and Red Hematites are to be found in Guilford, Randolph and Chatham Counties, and the Carbonates in Guilford, Davidson, Madison and others Counties—all of which are the preferable kinds for Steel and the best quality for bars, Iron wires, and all other uses in Machinery, Smith's work Cutlery Tools, etc. equal to Sweeds or Russian Sable or Norway Iron which commands in every known market

the highest prices. There are also Brown and Red Hematites, and Black bands ores in Chatham coal fields, and in Counties adjoining Chatham Co., also in the Counties of Guilford, Davidson, Forsythe, Stokes and Surry, and in nearly all the Counties on the sources of and West of the Catawba River. This latter class some of which will answer for Steel and is valuable for Bar Iron and Soft castings for many uses, when cast metal needs boring and turning.

The Magnetic oxide yields a white cast metal for chilled or hardened purposes; viz, Car wheels, Plough Moulds, and points, or for maleable Iron. Specular ore yields a peculiar tenacious Iron for working with Cutlery tools, wire, etc. and the facilities for working these ores into charcoal, Pig Metal and Blooms (or drops) is all that could be wished for, at the place where the various ores are diggable, as Timber is abundant, and in some places Lime for a flux—at others Lime only is wanting. Some are in near proximity to Railroads—and at others Railroad facilities are needed. Mineral Coals are to be found in Chatham County, and also in Rockingham, Stokes and Forsythe Counties on the headwaters of Dan River on the North Line of this State. These coals are desirable and necessary for Rolling and Manufacturing purposes—hence the necessity for extending the Deep River and Chatham Coal Fields Railroad through the Counties of Randolph, Guilford, Forsythe, Stokes, to near Pilot Knob Mountain in Surry. Near the East Bend of the Yadkin River, all of which Counties are highly favored with Iron, Copper and other ores, also Beds of Limestone, Marble and Coal, besides extensive water power for Mills or manufacturing purposes—Which Railroad would be indispensible for the manufacturing of Iron and Smelting of Copper ores in the vicinity of the Chatham Coal field, and would also give the facility for transporting Lime and Marble to nearly all the counties in the State, an article so much needed by the Farming

class of people at the cheapest possible rate of cost. The North C. C. R. R. and the Western Extension, would afford a facility for the transit of Blooms and Pigs of Iron, and ores of Copper from the counties West and Northwest of Guilford to Chatham—Which is no doubt the most favorable section for Rolling Mills, Forges, Copper Smelting Works, Powder Works, and Steel Works, for obtaining mineral coal cheap and with a cheap transit of the metal produced to the ports of Wilmington, New Berne or Morehead City. The consumption of Iron in this State is probably greater than the reader is aware of —and upon Examination it will show that very large sums of money are paid annually for this article, which contributes to the wealth and industry of other people of other States. Suppose that we estimate the ordinary Farm use, including waggons, Buggies and Household implements, Tools and Smith use, 60 Tons as an average consumption for each County, and we find an aggregate of 5000 Tons are consumed or used by Railroads, in ordinary repairs not including Rails each 12th months 1000 Tons more and by Machinists, and Mining Cos. 500 Tons. There would be an annual purchase of 6500 tons which at 5 cents per pound foots up Six hundred and fifty thousand dollars, in adition thereto of Steel, Copper, Lead and Powder—one hundred thousand dollars —which is thought to be a low estimate in our present condition and which must be largely increased in view of establishing such facilities as will accomplish a home supply by home manufacture for all purposes, viz; Rails, Castings, Car wheels, car axles for Railroads, Pump Engine Tools, etc., for Mining purposes. Bar Iron Tyres for waggons, Ploughs, Picks, Hoes, Shovels, Axes, Mill Machinery of all kinds for Farm and Mechanical use and a thousand fittings and things which everybody is familiar with, as are used and now purchased and paid for, which takes the peoples' money and goes out of the State to enrich the people of other States and support their industry,

with an impoverishing effect on the people of North Carolina. Our home market should be supplied by home manufacture, and all surplus sold to markets North and South of this State, and any surplus of Charcoal Pig could be sold in Northern Markets for money at a large percentage over cost.

Second. Copper ores and their associated metals.—The smelting of Copper ores can be made very profitable, and give great inducement to an increased population, by Emigration from those Countries where Mining and Smelting have been extensively carried on for several hundred years, which would not have been done if they did not yield a very large profit. Copper ores of all varities are obtainable in this State. Viz, Suphurte, Red and Black oxides, Silicions oxides, Carbonates or Malachite, Phosphates and Chlorides. Sulphurates and Copperpyrities exceed all others in quantity, and are therefore of great importance, yielding from 3 to 60 per cent of Copper Metal. Next the oxides and carbonates which are much richer in Metal and are to be found in greater abundance in this State, than in other localities. The Sulphurats are desirable in smelting the carbonates and oxides. In Germany ores yielding 2 per cent with some silver are found to be profitable. Ores are purchased by smelters in Germany, Prussia, France, and England, and also at Northern Works dug on the continent of America and transported thither to smelt—where fortunes have been made. Twenty years ago mining and smelting in this country received but little if any attention. But for fifteen years past the enterprise seems to have taken root and is flourishing in the United States. Several Smelt works have been put into operation which have met with great success, supplying our own shops with metal and greatly enlarging and expanding our own manufacturies. As before stated North Carolina has large deposits of the various Copper ores which will yield from 5 to 60 per cent of Copper Metal, associated with which is

Lead, Zinc, Silver and Gold, in the separation of which Sulphur and acids should also be obtained.

That class or grade of Copper ore and also of Galena which yields from 5 to 20 per cent are to be found in inexhaustable quantities—and should be smelted as near to the place where dug as possible in order to save expense of transportation to markets in the Northern States. A home market for this grade of ore is all important to the miner, because his cost of mining and expense of transportation to a Northern Market will absorb nearly all and in some instances all he can sell his ores for, and this will and always has retarded mining (in this State) of ores yielding below 15 per cent, and those low per cent ores are generally the first ones dug in getting a mine properly opened. If however the miner could sell his low per cent ores with his ores of a higher per cent, at the nearest Railroad Depot, and get the Northern Market price, he would always succeed from the first ore dug and be sustained in continuing his operations. Which result of the Smelter is a reverse of that to the miner, as the Smelter is always sure of profit. The products of smelting always find a ready sale for cash to the trade.

A Smelting Works located near, or at, the Chatham County Coalfield, in this State, would be as favorable as could be desired, for smelting all classes and grades of ores referred to, because with railroad facilities to transport the ores to the Chatham Coalfields, the profits would be amply remunerative to the smelter if he paid the *Northern Market Price* for ores at any depot on any railroad in the central or Western part of the State. Materials for erecting Furnaces, fuel and flues could there be obtained at a small cost, compared with the cost at many Northern establishments.

The Miner would then have all the advantages of saving the sum now paid for transporting the ores to a market out of this State, which would stimulate him to be more energetic, and to enlarge his productions. It would

encourage new operators to come to the field with capital to aid in developing the Minerals of this State, which would benefit the Farmer and the Mechanic.

The precious metals of Gold and Silver would also be mined to a much larger extent, than ever before known, the extent of which is greater in this State, than the most credulous persons have ever estimated and is believed to be as encouraging for a regular pursuit as in California and the Western Territories, Russia or Africa, or any part of South America.

The home consumption of Copper, Lead, and Zinc,, Iron and Steel is unlimited, yet a considerable sum is paid annually for Paints and Metals used by our Railroad Companies, and Mechanics, which in the aggregate will foot larger as one of the sources which take money from us, and should if possible be saved to the people of this State, and a large surplus, drawn from abroad, by the sale of the excess of the Copper Metal, Lead, Zinc, etc. produced by smelting our own native ores at home Mineral Coals.

North Carolina is highly favored by Nature with these Coals for Manufacturing purposes of a good quality and free from impurities, and Sulphur, so they are or may be useable for Rolling Iron, Smelting and rolling Copper, and other Metals, and for chemical uses generally. It would be desirable if there were facilities for reaching them by rail for Mechanic's use—domestic use—and Small Blast use. But unfortunately the Public Spirited Movers in North Carolina of Railroads have opened thorough fares, which have proved to be of more benefit to other States than our own and have never yet opened a single Railroad to her Coalfields, Iron ore Beds, Marble quarries, or Lime Stone. Which Roads have caused a large State debt and afford facilities to Merchants and others, drain and draw from the people of this State their money leaving their pockets empty.

These Roads should have been of a secondary consid-

eration and a Railroad from the navigable waters of the Cape Fear River, via Coalfields, through Chatham Guilford, Forsythe to Surry County should have been the *first Railroad Built in this State.* Why, Because the public generally would have been benefitted at home. The Coal, Iron, Lime, Marble, Copper, and other natural treasures would have found a market 10 years ago. But was not done and perhaps not thought of and if thought of was considered of a secondary importance. It is very evident, however, that the people of this State by an expenditure of not over 5 Millions of Dollars might have saved at home 10 Millions of dollars in the manufacture of Rails, car wheels, and Iron for common uses and Markets South, built all her Railroads and been free from a public debt. But "The first shall be last and the last first." Then why not profit by experience and now develop these natural advantages which will benefit all the people, a home sustaining policy of home patronage, home education, home manufacturing, and make and sell all we can to outsiders—follow the example of other States and live by supporting honest industry of all classes.

The Coals,, and the Minerals, Lime, Marble, etc. must be brought together and used for they are in daily demand, and sum up a large item in the trades of the present day. Lime and Marble.

Lime is an article of the greatest importance to the Farmers and Planters in this State. It is the most effective and best fertilizer that can be obtained—its caustic alkaline qualities fit it to a soil like ours which is filled with Siles, or sand, and disintegrated rocks, which leave so many pebbles, and crude substances, which forbid vegetable matter from forming a mould, without the use of Lime to neutralize them—hence woody and stalky substances grow rapidly, and grain, grapes and fine roots, meagerly. Our soils must therefore be fitted for crops, before farmers can expect to raise a remunerative supply. At present the cost of the article of Lime is too high, and nine-tenths now

used for Building and Farm uses is brought from the Northern States. The transportation adds too much to its cost to enable the Farmer to use it as a fertilizer. Phosphates of Lime, Guano, and other fertilizers are purchased in Northern Markets, which in the aggregate sends annually a large sum of money out of the State.

To estimate the quantity of lime needed by farmers annually, we will suppose that we have a superficial area of about 50 thousand square miles, and each mile sqr 640 acres gives 32 Millions of acres, half of which is covered by timbers and rivers. We find 16 Millions of acres in Farms and plantations and probably not more than one-fourth of which is annually cultivated, to wit, 4 Millions of acres, and 3 Millions of which needs fertilizing with Lime. Suppose we divide the 3 Millions into 5 parcels and fertilize one-fifth each year—as the manureing effects of lime aided by the absorbents of bean straw, grass and other vegatable matter, will endure for 5 years. We find six hundred thousand acres needing anually 5 barrells of Lime to be used (in a slaked condition) equals 74 Bushels to each acre. The aggregate of which is 30 hundred thousand Bbls, or 150 million Bushels, which can be obtained from our quarries and sold to the Farmer, at an average cost of 15 cents per bushel. We will suppose each farmer to have 50 acres of land to fertilize and he begins with 10 acres each year and at the end of 5 years he begins again on the first 10 acres and so on repeats and continues. Each will require to have 50 Bbls. of Lime annually at the cost of $37.50. Next we will estimate the advantage of this expenditure. We suppose that before he uses Lime his land produces 5 Bushels of Wheat, Corn 10 Bushels, Rye 4 Bushels, Oats 7 to 10 Bushels, and no clover, or grass of any kind. But as one year is required for the Lime to neutralize the soil, we will estimate no special gain until the second year's harvest, when he is sure to get from 3 to a five fold production, and clover, hay, and grasses in abundance for his use.

If he seens and subsoils each alternate year after the application of Lime, and as he continues to use Lime he will continue to nap this advantage. The soil will then receive common manures, Leaves, and Compost of . all kinds. I will guarantee the result in proluction to be as good as I have estimated if the Lime and appropriate husbandry is used. The profit will be apparent to any one who tries it.

If the soils on the Eastern slopes of the Allegheny were as full of Lime as the Western slopes are, Farmers would raise equal crops with Western.

The Limestones of the Western slopes are of a soft gray texture, a transient formation. While on the Eastern we have Carbonate of Lime (White Marble) crystallized and hard, which needs to be calcined (or burned) to render it friable. Limestones of this class is abundant in the Counties of Forsythe, Stokes, and Yadkin. It occurs near Germantown in Stokes County ranging southwardly and crossing the East Bend of the Yadkin River. The coal beds on the headwaters of the Dan River underlie it and the Iron ores are above, and in near proximity to it.

Those beds contain the pure white marble free from any stains of Iron, and as white as Egyptian Marble suitable for Tomb Stones, Monuments, or for ornamental purposes for buildings. The surface of the beds near Germantown are colored to the depth of a few feet with black mica, but this is suitable for walls of buildings. The pure white Carbonate makes pure strong Lime. There is limestone also in some of the counties west of the Yadkin.

With such beds of Marble in our possession, why purchase Tomb Stone from the quarries of Marble in Connecticut or any Northern State. The dead will slumber as softly under our own stones, as they can be made as cheap here as there, and save transportation. There is only wanting the facility and the inducement.

Why then should not the people of North Carolina bring up the agricultural interests of the State, to a Stand-

ard with the Western States. It can be done if her people will husband their interests—a will to do it and unity of action—and energy combined—and new features, complexion and life, will overcome the dispondency of misfortune now resting upon her. At the first blow and steps taken in earnest, Emigration will come from England and Germany to dig, and work our minerals, to engage in agriculture and horticulture, to manufacture wines and luxuries, now so heavily taxed when produced in Europe, that many fortunes may be made before the duties are reduced. Capital will also come without solicitations from abroad to purchase our lands, Mines, Grains & products of all kinds. Manufacturing will increase, Shops will be opened and home supplied with all she needs, and our people will be sellers of Surplus instead of Buyers.

Enough has been said perhaps to enable the reader to draw his own conclusions of the beneficial results to the people of this State, of such an enterprise. But will suggest a few ideas how it could be done—As a preliminary Step let the State Legislature pass a law establishing a Mining Bureau, with 5 Managers the Governor and State Treasurer to be two of the members, a State Agent, a Metalurgist, and Superintendent, the last three to be appointed or reappointed Biennially by the Governor and Council of the State, or to be continued for 5 years on salaries. If they Prove to be well qualified and of Skillful Capacity, to be Paid a liberal Compensation for their Services.

The Agent should be a person of good business habits, and reliable in every particular. The Metalurgist should be a German or Prussian who is known to be skillful in every branch of Smelting and Working Metals under the most modern or improved Methods.

The Supt. Should have Experience in Mining of ores, a good judge of Metals and of Experience in Building and Working Railroads.

The Board of Managers should have power to Employ,

discharge and direct all assistants, Employes, or servants, to purchase Sites, Materials, Build tracks, Roads and whatever pertains to perfecting and working the different branches of the object for which the Mining Board is established –a grant of full powers guarded from abuses by peculation or fraud, etc.

They should be authorized to take full and absolute charge of the Chatham and Coalfields Railroad, and Empowered to Build the same from its present terminus through the Counties of Chatham Randolph Guilford and Forsyth, to Surry—near Pilot Knowb—upon the most favorable location for the object or convenience of the public, as a Road to transpt Pig Iron, Blooms, Marble, Lime, Coal, Ores, Metals, etc, and have full management of the same, To be Called The State Railroad.

They should be authorized to Erect and work a Rolling Mill in Chatham Coalfields of a capacity to make one thousands Tons per month of Rails, Axles, or any Class of Merchantable Iron and furnaces for Paddling and heating.

They should be authorized and Empowered to Erect a Smelting Works for Copper and lead ores in the same locality of a Capacity to smelt 5 thousand tons of such ores per annum, and to purchase such ores at Northern Market prices on the line of any Railroad in this State.

They should be authorized to Build a Steel Works of a Capacity to Make 200 tons of Steel per annum to make Caststeel for Mines and Mechanics.

They should be authorized to Erect 2 or 3 Powder Mills at separate distances to make Blasting Powder for Mines, To make Nitre, Acid, Sulphur, etc.

And whatever article is made or produced for sale except lime should be sold at Northern Wholesale rates, or Prices. They should make all Rails needed for the Railroad, also axles car wheels, cars, etc., and to supply other Roads in this State, Iron for farmers or Smelters and machinists use.

They should have power to open and work Coal Mines Marble quarries for Tombstones, Monuments, etc., and to make Lime and to deliver on the Road to be Built or at a junction of the N. C. R. R. at 15 cents per bushel for farmers use as fertilizers of slaked lime or 25 cents for the unslaked, and Marble slabs at low rates per foot.

The Principle office should be in Raleigh and under the Supervision of the State Treasurer, and branch offices at the different localities, which Branch offices should make monthly reports to the Principle offices which should report to the Legislature annually—of all Expenditures, cost, of the work Roads, ores purchased, Metals produced, on hand sold, and a full and complete abstract of the Condition of the Affairs of the Bureau.

The entire property Created or accumulated should be the property of the State.

The Motor or funds used by the Bureau should be an issue of a Treasury Note if practicable in sums of 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, and 20 dollars of good paper and in as good style as Greenbacks, redeemable one year after date at the pleasure of the State. But made receivable for Taxes, on Railroads and By individuals, and have par value in the State, and all person forbid depreciating or discounting them for profit under a penalty—to be issued from time to time by the State Treasury to meet the wants of the Bureau monthly. They should be received for all metals etc. sold to the people of the State By the Bureau and be used in the purchase of ores, Metals, Coals, etc, etc., And the issue should at no time exceed 5 million of dollars and the metals sold abroad, Iron, Powder, Steel, etc., at home Paid for in said issue and redeemed from the proceeds thereof.

To Save the Expense of Building a State Prison, a law should be passed authorising and requiring the Bureau to take the Convicts or Prisoners from each County in the State, and work them in the Marble quarries, Yards and making Lime or in Building Roads, untill they shall have

served the term of Sentence of Court and payment of costs and fines imposed Which shall be paid by the Burea to the proper County thereby saving the people from such County Tax Which will relieve the people of the Expenses also of a public Prison. The Bureau to provide for all such prisoners Comfortable Clothes and food and hospital Expenses.

It is well known that a few miles above Salem are large tracts of land in which extensive quarries of white marble or Lime Stone exist which can be purchased for a small sum, and which if walled in and Prison Cabins were built for workmen within the enclosure would not cost 1-5th part as much as a State prison for manufactoring purposes and neither Should prison labor be applied to the manufacture of any article of industry and capital generally pursued by the public.

To General Sickles.

August 13 1867.

I have examined and considered the amendments proposed to Sec. 9 and 40 Rev. Code Chap. 101 and entertain no doubt that an order promulgating the same as law would contribute very essentially to the better working of the Public Roads of the State.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

To Judge Gilliam.

Aug. 14 1867.

Jury orders of Sickles.

I had not heard, when I sent my telegram to Genl. S. on the 10th inst., that a single County Court had acted on the order touching juries. I regarded the order as qualifying those only who had paid a tax the *current year*—this fiscal year, and as the County Courts could not know until the Sheriffs had made their collection and return for this year, who had paid tax this year, the Court could not

so reform the lists till the first Court to be held after the 1st day of October. The General's answer stating that the circumstances set forth in my telegram showed that I had been *"impracticable"* to execute his order. If the orders have reference to tax assessed and paid last year, then it would not have been "impracticable" to reorganize the juries.

I have reason to believe, from a personal conversation with Genl. S., that he meant to qualify as jurors every one who had paid a poll tax or any other public tax, but I have no right to put any construction on his ordinances and make these suggestions for what you may consider them to be worth.

I propose to try to get Genl. S. to construe his order or to modify it, so as not to admit any but a freeholder to serve on the jury.

Lincolnton.

To G. M. Griffin.

Aug. 17 1867.

As Governor I have no color of power to interfere with the action of your County Court as to levying a tax to pay County bonds given during the war, and my opinion as to the power of this County Court derives no importance from my official position.

If you or any other citizen deem the levying of such tax unlawful, you should employ a lawyer and seek a remedy through the higher Courts. It is a question of law and being now rather a rusty lawyer—and my opinion entitled only to the consideration due to my opinion as a lawyer and so pressed with my multifarious official duties that I cannot bestow much time to the consideration of the question I hope you will excuse me from the expression of an opinion on the subject.

To Josiah Turner, Jr.

August 17 1867.

Asking for a pass for B. S. Hedrick's family.

You are aware that for the past 18 months B. S. Hedrick has attended at my instance to a vast variety of business for the State and its citizens at Washington City. He has not been paid any thing for these services—has not demanded any compensation. He informs me he labored for all our R. Rs. at the close of the war. He wrote me some time ago that his wife and children were on a visit to his brother at Morehead City and would visit Chapel Hill and perhaps Salisbury perhaps during their visit and that he would appreciate a free pass for them over our R. Rs. I applied to Mr. Whitford and Mr. Webb. The former granted and the latter refused. Mr. Webb, as I hear, referred to my application and his refusal at your late annual meeting. Mr. Hedrick's wife and children passed here from Morehead to Chapel Hill a few days ago, paying their way from Goldsboro to Chapel Hill. The State owes them, for Mr. H's services a free pass, and if he rendered the service to the corporation which I think he did, his request ought to have been granted. If you think you may do so without impropriety, I shall be gratified if you will send his wife at Chapel Hill, privilege to pass free with her children from Durham to Salisbury and from Salisbury to Raleigh one time at any time within a month from this date.

COMPANY SHOPS.

To John C. Wood.

August 19 1867.

Yours of the 13th inst. with inclosure came to hand. The board created by Genl. Sickle's order as to the expediency—location, etc. of Penitentiary, have the subject under consideration. If the report shall favor the building of one and recommend a location, I am not informed

what ulterior steps the General proposes to take.

Your proposition will receive due consideration, if it shall become my duty to have any control in the erection of Penitentiary structures.

WILMINGTON.

To G. F. Lewis.

Aug. 19 1867.

I have made a special and earnest call upon each of the Trustees of the University to meet in this office, on business of vital consequence to the institution. I hope for a full attendance. I suggest that you come then, instead of the 5th Sept.

[P. S.] If you can't be here on the 22nd it is not probable that I can get a meeting so soon after as the 5th Sept.

CLEVELAND, O.

From E. M. Gibson.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
PENSION OFFICE.

August 20, 1867.

Hon. Jonathan Worth,
Governor of North Carolina,
Sir:

Request for information concerning North Carolina.

Sometime since I noticed an advertisment in the *Washington Chronicle* of public lands for sale in your State without giving terms or particulars. Will you be kind enough to inform me of the quality, price condition, etc., of the land. My father (Geo. Gibson) emigrated from Randolph Co. N. C., more than twenty years ago, to the State of Indiana. I have often heard him speak of you,

and think perhaps he knew you. I have numerous relatives (Winslows, Walkers, Davises, etc.) living in your State now, but owing to my having served, and been disabled, in the Union Army during the late war, I do not know as it would be safe for me to make my home in that State now. I might live there, but would my chances in the profession of the law, or politically be worth anything, is the question. I am young yet, and would not like to hazzard future prospects by living in a community where I would be obnoxious to the citizens, for any thing I have done or said, for of course I have no regrets for my past conduct.

At present I am a clerk in the above named office and will remain here until I determine where to locate.

From Henry T. Clark.

TARBORO, N. C. *August 20, 1867.*

University affairs.

I was placed on a committee by the *last* Legislature (or at the last session of the Legislature) charged with the investigation of the affairs of the University—and to report to the next meeting of the Legislature or to the Governor. A majority of the joint committee (3 of the Senate and 3 of the House of Commons) (Messrs. Hall, Peebles, Morehead and myself) held a meeting at the last commencement, made some progress and expect to resume an investigation in Raleigh at the adjourned Session (today) this has been thwarted by the suspension of the Legislature. And for want of another meeting of the Committee a report cannot be prepared.

I write this as an individual explanation to you, for there has been no concert of opinion or action for the present emergency.

We were preparing to offer some suggestions which we hoped would be beneficial to the institution—perhaps

the same may proceed from the very intelligent body of Trustees, who I see have been called together in Raleigh the 22nd.

I understand there are three vacancies among the professors, besides the proposed vacancy of Gov. Swain.

I will venture one suggestion which you may give only such attention as you think it merits. It is a temporary arrangement while the funds of the corporation are so impoverished. Charles Phillips is very competent to fill the Chair of Mathematics, lately occupied by his father. His professorship is nearly allied to that of his father. I would suggest that his salary be enlarged and both professorships so arranged as to be occupied by him—that *temporarily* the two branches be amalgamated or so combined as to be placed in charge of the remaining Professor. If his duties are increased, increase his pay, but not to the extent of both salaries (say 33-1/3) This would be an economy which the present status demands. And as the means of the University increased increase the professorship again.

Be pleased to consider this only as a suggestion to you —and you may present or not as seems expedient to your own views.

I have not the honor of being a Trustee and can have no voice. But your body has not a more devoted friend to the institution than myself.

P. S. I would be glad to be advised of the present status of our Committee. Genl. Sickle's order does not abolish but suspends the Legislature till *further orders,* which in all probability will never be given. Theoretically we are a Legislature for two years from date of our election. It was made the duty of this University Committee if they could not report to the Legislature, to report to the Governor. But there must be a meeting to continue the investigation and make the report. But we can't do without authority for our expenses to be paid. If your duties and authority have not expired with Genl.

Sickles, how can we draw our necessary expenses already incurred or to be incurred. Genl. Sickles will make promise for his penitentiary Board—would he make any for this Committee.

To E. J. Hale & Son.

August 21 1867.

I am disposed to stretch my powers in order to have a genteel edition of Wilson's reports. In my annual message to the Genl. A. I recommended a reprint of the imperfect editions of the report made during the war. I do not know why the recommendation was not respected. Under general powers conferred on the Govr. and judges of the Supreme Court I am disposed to take for the State 100 copies of your proposed edition, but must have the concurrence of at least one of the judges of the Supreme Court. I expect Judge Battle here shortly. Can you give me an approximate idea as to what 100 copies would cost the State under your proposition?

New York City.

To E. M. Gibson.

Raleigh *Aug. 23 1867.*

Giving desired information about North Carolina.

Your inquiry, as you served in the U. S. army in the late war, whether it would be wise for you to make your home in this State discloses the fact that you believe in the absurd conclusion which Northern demagogues have fostered in the minds of the Northern people; to-wit, that we are a semi-savage and lawless people. How a people claiming to be so much more virtuous and civilized and christianized than we are, can honestly indulge in such sentiments, excites among us combined wonder and [*illegible*]. The fact ought to be known to every body having *any* ac-

cess to sources of correct information that there is no place in Christendom when a man behaves himself with decorum, is safer than in any part of N. C., no odds what may be his opinions, political or religious. Even if he come among us, prepossessed with the notion and continually making this notion prominent—odiously prominent—that he claims superiority over us in patriotism—virtue—learning—everything noble in the nature of our species, you are still *"safe"* from personal harm—but we have not yet been reduced to the debasement generally (a few who seek favor by fawning pretend to love and respect those who thus revile us) to lick the hand which inflicts stripes upon us. The great body of our people were forced to elect between Secessionists and Abolitionists—thus forced they took up arms in favor of their home and section:—when conquered they desired to be allowed to participate in a restowed Union: When the North demands of them that the future government of the State shall be committed to the recently emancipated slave in order to maintain the continued ascendency of a party which despises the forgiving spirit taught by the religion we profess, and delights to trample on a vanquished people and throw obstacles in the way of their recuperation, they submit as the vanquished must submit to a conqueror, but they are not so meek and so stultified as to *love* such a people. But every body is *"safe"* here who behaves with decorum—and any of our people respect a Union soldier, who, when the fight was over, treats his vanquished foeman, as genuine courage always treats the vanquished.

I have not time to dwell on the matter. I have said thus much because I remember well your father and would treat his son with respect.

Nobody anywhere was a more constant lover of the Union and the Constitution—and nobody any where more cordially abhors a party, who would force on us a government so framed, under this bayonet, as to give ascendancy to the recently emancipated slaves.

I have not and never had any sympathy with Disunionism either by Secessionists or Radicals.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Aug. 24 1867.

I have been so pressed with the urgent and multifarious duties of my office for some weeks past, that I could not find time to do justice to my personal correspondence.

I made application to get complimentary tickets for your family, resting the application on the ground of justice to you on account of your services to the State.

I know that Turner *personally* desired to grant it. I inclose his answer. If I had power I would grant you a free pass on every road in the State as some token of my appreciation of the disinterested service you have rendered the State.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To W. H. King.

August 24 1867.

Terms for sale of swamp lands.

Our lands are not divided off into sections and classified as to quality. We hoped to sell the whole to an immigration or to other association of capitalists. In this way we would sell at $1.00 per acre—1-10 paid down—remainder payable in 10 years—interest at 7 per cent, payable semi-annually—title reserved until purchase money be paid—failure to pay int. for 6 months after due to be forfeiture.

If we fail to sell the lands on these terms as an entirety, we will sell any one entire swamp on same terms—or

Give alternative sections for ditching and draining.

Our object has been to draw attention to these valuable

lands and then dispose of them the best way we can. Nobody will want to buy enough only for a single farm. A leading drain must be cut, which should be done by a company or individual owning the whole swamp, to be sold afterwards in small tracts.

We will pay any reasonable commission to an agent who may effect sales for us.

We now have a commission in New York trying to effect a sale of the whole;—on failing in that,—of one entire swamp. If we fail in this we will give alternate sections to any person or company who will ditch any one of these swamps.

I send you my advertisement seeking to effect sale of one tract, as an individual.

I will pay 5 per cent commission to any person who will find purchaser on my terms. I think there is not *the slightest exaggeration* as to this land. The crops heretofore grown and now growing on the land demonstrate its productiveness. In view of the improvements on it—so much of it ready for immediate cultivation—its valuable timber and proximity to navigation, it is a most desirable tract. Its present owners are so occupied in other matters that they can't give attention to it.

Will be glad to hear further from you.

New England, Ohio.

To H. T. Clark.

Aug. 24 1867.

I am not advised of Genl. Sickles' ulterior purposes either as to the calling of the Genl. A., or his scheme for the building of a Penitentiary. How he proposes to raise the ways and means or whether he intends to pay or how, the board appointed to report on Penitentiary project, I am as ignorant as you are.

I hope to have another interview with him before long in order to understand his designs and to induce him, if I can, to modify some orders and to abstain from issuing others deranging our State operations.

We have done what we could to keep the University alive. I have not time to give you details—but will simply say I think we have adopted measures likely to result in reviving the institution.

The financial question is not solved—but the professors will be paid their full salary this session. If money cannot be raised by voluntary contribution to disincumber the corporate property, I see no hope of avoiding its ultimate downfall.

Tarboro.

To O. D. Cooke.

Aug. 24 1867.

Sale of swamp lands.

A commission is now gone to N. Y. to try to effect a sale of the whole of the Swamp lands, to Companies proposing to negotiate. I fear they will not effect such sale. Until the result of their negotiations shall be known, I can only say that this board will sell White Oak Desert at $6.00 per acre—ten per cent to be paid down—int. to be semi-annually paid on residue—ten years allowed to pay fund—title reserved as security and failure to pay interest for 6 months to amount to forfeiture of contract. If we can't sell this way we will sell less than the whole on like terms.

I inclose advertisement of a tract of land I wish to sell which I regard as the best bargain in land which I ever knew any thing of. The crops grown on it—and now growing are the best testes of its value. The cleared land, buildings and timber would make quick returns.

Boon Hill.

To Simon Barnes.

Aug. 26 1867.

Rules for registration.

I have means of arriving at a just interpretation of the Act of Congress touching registration not in reach of every other citizen. Genl. Sickles is the final arbiter as to us —and I had supposed he would have given us his construction on the doubtful points. His plans seems to be to leave each board of Registers to decide all doubtful cases and report to him all questionable cases for his final decision.

I think you are entitled to register, and I would apply to the registrars, and in case they decide against you, ask them to report the case to Genl. Sickles for his decision. According to the opinion of the Atto. Genl you have a right to register: and surely no citizen can incur any danger or blame, who claims the right, where such right is sustained by the opinion of the highest law officer of the U. States.

WILSON.

From J. J. Jackson.

PITTSBORO *August 27th 1867.*

Registration in Randolph county.

Registration has commenced in this County. The Board has been in Session in this village two days. There is a great rush of negroes to register I suppose two negroes have registered here to one white. I am fearful this county will be Africanized although by the census of 1860 there were nearly two whites to one black. The negroes will register to a man, and many of the whites will go with them I fear from the idea they have that the owners of real estate are to be plundered, and what they have confiscated. There are few post offices in the county and many of our people are uninformed as to whether they can register or no.

I think every facility should be given for registering all, and for that reason I write you this, at the instance of many of our Citizens, and request that you will call Col. Bomford's attention to the Statement hereinafter contained.

It is I think perfectly clear that there ought to be two places for registering on the east of Haw River. One third or one fourth of the county lies east of the River. There is not now a bridge on Haw River from Keemey Bynum's to Haywood. Four bridges have been swept away recently by freshets. The Board should sit at Lasaters and at Jones Grove, which as you know is about eight miles from Pittsboro on the road to Chapel Hill. I hear they will sit at Lasaters only. If this be so and I am informed that they have only advertised that point, it is certain that a large number of voters from the country bordering on Haw River and the Orange line will not register. To do so they would have in some cases to travel over 20 miles. I suppose Col. Bomford could issue orders to the Board to sit at Jones Grove and at Lasaters, also.

Permit me to request in behalf of our people that you will see Col. Bomford and, if you think it proper, that you will represent to him the Justice and propriety of carrying out the above Suggestion.

From J. J. Jackson.

Pittsboro, *August 27th 1867.*

I have just heard that Mr. Gibbons is going in the morning, and I write you this only to say we are all well at present. We hope you are all well. The children Bettie, Jonnie and Carrie are going to school to Mr. Sutton and I think rapidly improving.

I wrote a letter to Major B. about two days ago requesting him to get up and send to me all of Sickles' orders. Lucy has an enterprise on foot. It is a *secret* and I fear it will get out. She has been agitating the scheme of publishing a map of the mineral county coal, gold, etc., etc. I advised her to defer it for the present and suggested the following.

Mr. Sutton, the head of the female school here, has a printing press, and I suggested to her to let me get up all the orders issued by Sickles and the most important of those issued by the Bureau and let Mr. Sutton print them in a pamphlet. I thought several thousand copies might be sold for a dollar each. Well she sent for him and he is anxious to go into it if his press will do the work. Wants to see the orders, etc., before he can tell. What do you think of it? The expense will be trifling—only the paper—and I really think there is money in it. They could be sold in N. and S. Carolina and probably Hale could sell several hundred in New York.

I have not seen the orders from Major Bagley. If it was possible I should like very much for Mr. Gibbons to bring them up with him. Write me a line and say what you think of her *scheme*. I write you another line that you may if you think proper show to Col. Bomford. I think it important that you should do so.

Love to all,

[P. S.]—I wonder some printer has not, before this, thought of printing in pamphlet form for easy reference all these edicts which for the time being are laws.

To W. H. McRae.

Sept. 9 1867.

Yours of the 4th inst. is just recd.

I have no fears that Congress will confiscate our lands. There is much more danger from N. C. Radicals—and

I trust there is not much danger from them. Our white friends in Montgomery and Randolph, who are expecting to attain political ascendency through the negro, will surely wake up and see their folly soon. If we make a Constitution, allowing all male negroes 21 years old to vote, and denying the right of voting to a large and intelligent class of whites, the mean whites co-operating with the negroes, may appropriate all the land. I am unwilling to believe that the negroes are to be made the governing class in N. C.

I think it scarcely possible that N. C., with a population of whites largely greater than the negroes, will by their voluntary acts, make the negro the governing power. This will be the result if we carry out the Radical scheme now presented to us.

I advise you to perfect your title to your land in the way you deem least expensive—and trust to the good sense of N. C. and the nation that government is not to be confided to negroes and albinoes.

I have not time to discuss these subjects. I was never a Secessionist—still less am I a Radical. Both were and are disunionists. The property of this country requires *Union.*

Troy.

To O. D. Cooke.

Sepr. 9th 1867.

I do not know the real agricultural product of the land before the war. I learn that the swamp portion produces strictly first rate crops of cotton. I invite any one wishing to buy, to examine the land. There is a portion of it having corn on it now. I have by no means over-stated the excellence of the land. The place is known as "Round Swamp"—and is celebrated as a place of great value. Any body at Whitesville or in that region knows

that it has always produced exuberant crops of cotton and corn. The timber on it is of great value.

We have a complete map of it. It is now in N. Y. but will be in the hands of Worth & Daniel in a few days. We have no doubt about the title and will warrant the title—and all of us are responsible on a warranty. Each of us is out of debt and (for our country) possessed of large means. We want to sell it because our several occupations preclude proper attention to a farm. I never saw any place better suited to make money, both by its agricultural products and its timber.

Boon Hill.

To Henry T. Clark.

September 23 1867.

Yours of the ninth inst. did not reach my hands till to-day. Some 10 or 12 days ago I went to my former residence, expecting to be there only a day or two. [*About four lines are illegible*]. Mr. Perkins is here and will carry down both pardons. Sickles' jury order.

I had taken the same view in relation to Genl. S's orders as to juries which you present and have fully exerted myself in communications both to Genl. Sickles and Genl. Canby to get the order so modified as to allow only freeholders to be put on the list with this list to be purged by the Court as provided by our laws before the drawing of the jury. You will see that I have had only partial success.

I think I am getting the relations between Genl Canby and myself on a footing likely to enable me to be of some service to our people.

I am endeavoring to get him to abolish the Provost Court established for 5 counties, in Fayetteville, by which three men having no pretension to legal learning, are taking cognizance of all suits, civil and criminal, not capitally

punished—their compensation being fixed at $4. per day, etc. to be paid by the fines they impose. I regard this Court as more of a burlesque on justice, than the celebrated Court held by Sancho Panza.

I am also endeavoring to discontinue the trial of civilians before military Courts.

I thank you for the estimate you place on my efforts to serve the people of N. C. My duties have been enormous and onerous. I am sure I have endeavored to do all I could to get our State on her legs and hope my friends duly appreciate my efforts.

I am feeble and tremulous and must conclude.

TARBORO.

To O. P. Meares.[1]

RALEIGH *Sepr 26 1867.*

I will be much obliged to you for any remarks you may be willing to submit to me tending to aid me in coming to a just conclusion as to the action I ought to take on the inclosed petition of a number of citizens of Wilmington for the remitting of the remainder of punishment adjudged by you against Nicholas Carr.

Please return the petition.

WILMINGTON.

To A. M. Tomlinson.

September 26 1867.

* * * * * * *

I do not precisely understand whether the association of Friends proposing to establish the model farm, design it as auxiliary to their educational projects or what the real object is—but I presume the association may be

[1] Judge of the Wilmington Criminal Court.

promptly incorporated under our Rev. Code, Chap. 26, Sec. 14 and 15 at a trifling expense, whereby the difficulty will be obviated.

I am somewhat feeble and tremulous from my late bilious attack—and hope my writing will be legible and intelligible.

I intended to have visited you on my late trip to Randolph—but was detained so long by my illness that I was obliged to hasten back here as soon as I felt able.

I hope your son Sidney will consent to be voted for a a member of the Convention, because I believe he would be elected and that he belongs to the class who would uphold the Constitution of the United States. I regard any Union, not based on the Constitution, as Revolutionary and likely to result in ultimate disaster to our Country—and I cannot regard a government which admits to the polls *all* this ignorance and excludes *much* of the intelligence of its people, as likely to secure personal liberty or protection to the fruits of industry.

If the negroes and all the non-property holders are to vote, it ought to be for the Commoners only: and only those who pay a tax on property should vote for the Senate. I have not time to enlarge on this. If non-property holders are the ruling power in both branches of the Legislature, land and property will be in much more danger of virtual confiscation from taxation than they are from the present Congress.

Few men have the nerve to preserve integrity if they get on the political arena—and hence I would not advise any young friend to turn politician—but on our coming Convention hangs the security of property and personal liberty—and there are few counties in the State where secret organizations have so misguided public sentiment as in Randolph—and I know of no one so likely to be elected as Sidney—who has not become entangled in the vile web of the demagogue.

Bush Hill.

To Thomas Stephenson.

Sepr 28th 1867.

Your letter without date inquiring whether this State is making any effort to procure European labor is before me.

No such effort has been made because the action of Congress disfranchising the experienced intelligence of our people and looking to and likely to result in negro supremacy here, we regard as an effectual bar to immigration from any country but Africa.

New York City.

To D. F. Caldwell.

Sep. 28 1867.

The pub. Tr. handed me a day or two ago the within papers purporting to a conveyance of a lot in Florence from J. S. Ray to Z. S. Coffin. The Tr. says it was found among papers left in the office by me as Provl. Treasurer. I have no recollection about it. It was no seal—and is not a deed; and if it were, I do not know who Z. S. Coffin is, or why the paper was put in my possession. I suppose it to be worthless. If you can make any thing out of it return as much as you please and pay balance wherever you may think it is due.

I hear that the Conservative political meeting here last night was prudently conducted, and that Holden got the most terrible castigation ever inflicted in the way of a speech, from his guardian friend Major Russ.

I did not have any hand in the getting up of this meeting. I have feared that any thing like organization on our part might arrest the disintegration which I trust is setting in here and abroad among the radicals, and thus result prejudicially to us.

I read your editorials with much interest and approbation.

I am still rather feeble and my hand tremulous from my late bilious attack.

GREENSBORO.

To James F. Giles.

Oct. 2 1867.

About the time yours of the 29th Aug. came to hand I was disabled by a bilious attack and so continued for some ten days and since my recovery have not got clear of the business which accumulated during my illness. Swamp lands.

The Lit. Board has ordered an accurate survey and plot of the 90,000 acres to be made out. Owing to the remarkably rainy season, the usual disappearance of the water from absorption and evaporation has not occurred. The water is now rapidly disappearing and a month hence, it is hoped, lines may be run over dry ground throughout the swamp. Of its extraordinary fertility and easy drainage I entertain no doubt.

Should you come on in the latter part of this month or first of next I think the survey will be in progress and I will take care that every facility shall be afforded you for a satisfactory examination of the premises.

The tract of land which I offer for sale by inclosed advertisement, having 150 acres cleared, a growing crop to demonstrate its fertility—houses on it—much valuable timber, etc. presents remarkable inducements to a gentleman wishing to farm and grow cotton on a large scale, or to a small colony of immigrants.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To B. Higgins.

Oct. 7 1867.

Your lengthy and interesting communication containing many valuable suggestions touching our State affairs was duly recd.

As the Genl. A. has not been allowed to assemble since I recd it—and possible will not be allowed to assemble during the time I shall be allowed to occupy my present position.

I see little chance to carry out any important enterprise in N. C. while the policy of the Government repels all immigration, save from Africa.

Greensboro.

To P. T. Massey.

October 17 1867.

Canby's jury order.

I am just returned from an interview with Genl Canby at Columbia at which his jury order was the chief subject of his discussion.

Your County Court after making out a list of those who have paid a tax this year, whether on property or on the poll, will in the first place purge the list by casting out the names of those whom they may deem not well qualified to serve as jurors, color alone not being deemed cause of disqualification. Extreme ignorance, bad moral character, deafness or other personal disability will be recognized as good cause of disqualification.

Persons not registered as voters, *are not to be excluded from the list from which jurors are to be drawn*—but he will retain his clause making non-registration good cause of challenge.

The General assured me he would reform his order as above. It may be expected in a few days. I hope, therefore, your Court upon this representation will act as though his order to this effect were now published.

Smithfield.

To Calvin H. Wiley.

Oct. 17 1867.

Sale of swamp lands.

I am just returned from an interview with Genl. Canby. It was quite as satisfactory as I expected.

I am quite willing to take $70,000.—or even $60,000. for all our Swamp lands in Hyde and Tyrrell, provided not less than $\frac{1}{10}$ be paid down, interest at 7 per cent paid annually for residue and the whole to be paid within ten years and failure to pay interest for 60 days to amount to forfeiture—but will not consent to bind the State to refund for any cause except want of title—title to be made on payment of the purchase money.

I do not feel willing to take less than $1. per acre on same terms as to payment, for White Oak Swamp; we paying expenses of survey.

GREENSBORO.

To A. S. Kemp.

October 21 1867.

Regarding the filling of vacancies.

You are mistaken as to my having power to fill vacancies in civil offices. This power, by the military re-construction acts, is conferred on the military commandant—Genl Canby.

The military commandant, as to the filling of vacancies in offices which is vested in the Governor or the Gov. and his Council, by our Constitution or laws, has hitherto asked me to nominate, and has appointed my nominee.

I have not been consulted at all as to the appointment of any officer where the appointment of such officer is given by law to the Courts of the people.

From your representation of the facts I see no reasonable grounds for your removal and the consequent filling of your place by military authority—and hope the County Court will decline to accept your resignation.

ELIZABETHTOWN.

To Thomas Settle.

Oct. 22 1867.

I inclose to you a copy of a letter which I addressed to you on the 17th Apl last, to which I have recd no answer.

Pressed, as I was by the military authorities of the U. S. backed by the Representatives of Caswell County in the General Assembly and by Messrs Kerr and Kerr who defended Johnson I granted the pardon with very great misgivings as to the propriety of extending clemency to him.

I am now informed by the Hon. John Kerr, that upon the application of this man Johnson and of one Tourgee, the Sheriff of Caswell, Jesse C. Griffith, who, from personal acquaintance and from what I learn from others, is a most estimable man, is arrested and carried to Charleston to answer some indefinite charge.

I earnestly desire from you a statement of the facts proved on the trial of Johnson.

To Andrew Johnson.

October 24th 1867.

Introducing Thomas C. Fuller.

Allow me to introduce to you the Hon. Thos. C. Fuller, a distinguished gentleman of the Fayetteville bar, who visits you in behalf of three citizens of his town, Tolar, Powers and Watkins, lately tried by a Military Court, under a charge of murdering a negro, named Beebe.

There was no reasonable ground for the interposition of a Military Court. No respectable officer of the U. S. Army has ever intimated that justice has not been invariably administered fairly and impartially in our Superior Courts of law. In this case the Military thought proper to take cognizance before any civil Court having power to try the alleged offence, *could act.*

The conceded facts are that Beebe, the negro, on Sunday, had seized a young lady of unquestionable character, on her return home from Church, and attempted to commit a rape on her—that the community was naturally excited, and on his arrest and preliminary trial, the next day, a large concourse assembled, and that when they saw the neck of the victim lacerated, by the brutal grip of Beebe, to prevent her cries from bringing assistance to her, it created ungovernable fury, and some one shot and killed Beebe. The evidence as to the person who fired the fatal shot was contradictory. What this evidence was, you will see in the papers submitted to you. The dispute, as I understand, was narrowed down, whether one Phillips or Capt. Tolar killed Beebe. Phillips had been charged and released by the Military upon turning State's evidence. The evidence was contradictory and turned on the creditability of witnesses—which a jury of the vicinage could have much better decided than a Court composed of strangers. What the decision of the Court was I do not know—but, I am sure, all of the most intelligent and virtuous portion of our people believe that the defendants ought to have had a trial by jury—that the evidence before the military Court did not warrant a conviction;—and if the defendants were capitally punished, all good men would be horrified.

I hope you will deem the case one proper for Executive clemency.

If you should deem it competent for you to set aside the finding of the Military Court, and to direct a trial by jury, it would satisfy justice and the wishes of the people.

Every one of these military trials in this State is an instance of unjustifiable military oppression, there being no pretence, from any respectable source, that there is any one of our Judges who does not take care that justice is impartially administered.

To D. G. Worth.

Oct. 24 1867.

Personal opinion on various matters of Reconstruction.

You ask me my opinion as to how the people of this State should vote on the calling or refusing to call a Convention under the military acts falsely called re-construction acts.

These acts *require* the Convention to amend the State Constitution so as to allow universal negro suffrage. They declare that we are to be allowed representation in Congress only after the disfranchising Howard amendment shall be adopted and that no member of Congress shall be recognised unless he can take this test oath.

This Convention is called by Congress—not by the State: Congress determines who shall vote and who shall not, in violation of the Constitution of the U. S., which leaves it to the State to determine who shall vote and who shall not vote—and allows each State to regulate its internal affairs, not inconsistent with the United States.

As this Convention *must* establish negro suffrage, those only should vote *for* such Convention, who believe that it is constitutionally called and that universal negro suffrage is expedient and that nobody should hold office save those who can take the teste oath. As I believe that the call of a Convention is in violation of the Constitution of the U. S., which I am bound by oath to support—that to establish universal negro suffrage is to base government upon ignorance instead of intelligence -even if there were no disfranchisement of white men and as the acts of Congress submit the question to those who are allowed to vote, whether they want such a Convention or not, I think no honorable man in N. C. ought to vote for the call.

I think they should go to the polls and try to elect conservative delegates—and not vote at all for or against Convention. The Convention fails if a majority of all the registered voters fail to vote for or against Convention. According to the best information we now have

95000 whites and 65000 negroes have registered in this State. It will require something over 80000 votes cast for and against the Convention to call it. It is not probable that more than 55,000 negro votes will be cast, and if less than 25000 whites vote for or against a Convention, it must fail. I do not believe anything like 25000 whites will vote for such a Convention. If concert of action can be brought about among those who are opposed to the call, it may be defeated, by non voting on the part of the whites. I am confident a majority of the whole vote cast is unattainable—and my only hope of defeating the thing is this one indicated: and if this fail, in the refusal of the voters to ratify the Constitution which may be adopted.

"It is never expedient to do wrong," and hence it is inexpedient to change by our act, the fundamental laws of the State, under an unconstitutional act of Congress.

This is intended for your own eye. I deem it inexpedient to avow my views before the public.

I gave my views, confidentially, to Mr. Englehardt a week or two ago.

WILMINGTON.

To Andrew Johnson and W. H. Seward.

Oct. 25 1867.

Capt. A. W. Bolemins, who for the past year has been acting in this State as an officer of the Freedman's Bureau, has had the rare good fortune to discharge his duties with such marked intelligence, independence and impartiality as to command the respect and confidence of both whites and blacks.

I learn from him that he has applied or will apply for the appointment of Consul to the Rhine provinces in Germany.

I shall be gratified if the application shall receive your favorable consideration.

To J. W. Purdie.

Oct. 25 1867.

In regard to the filling of vacancies in office.

The military commandant has thus far not interfered with any appointments to office, which by law or the constitution is vested in the Govr., further than to request me in vacancies, such as that of judge, to submit my recommendation, which recommendation has been thus far respected, by an appointment of my nominee by the Military Commandant.

I have not been requested to send to the Commandant my recommendant for the appointment to any office where the filling of such vacancy, under the constitution and laws of the State, is vested in any other authority than the Govr.

If desirous I will endorse the recommendation of a majority of your justices, as to the filling of the resignation of Mr. Kemp. As his successor will be appointed by military authority and must take the test oath, unless there be urgent reasons to the contrary, would it not be well for the Court to refuse to accept the resignation of Mr. Kemp?

Elizabethtown.

To B. G. Worth.

Oct. 25 1867.

Since writing you this morning I have seen Mr. Best—and find that the grants to which I referred were issued for another speculating firm—Baker having no connection with them. Mr. Best says he gave the printed form of our grants to Baker—without his or my signature or the great seal of the State—and a separate certificate signed by him and me, that whenever he produced proper certificates of entries and surveys and paid the purchase money, that he could get grants. I learn that no grant has issued to him. He certainly regards persons wanting to buy land as very green and easily humbugged.

Opinion of Canby.

I regard Genl. Canby as an unostentatious and candid Radical. He has treated me with uniform courtesy, personal and official, and has occasionally reformed some of the many absurd additions he has made to the Sickles code, upon my representation. I regard him as an honest man, believing in the expediency and constitutionality of the obstruction acts and therefore cordially co-operating with the less vindicative portion of the Radical Congress. I do not perceive that we are benefitted by the exchange of Canby for Sickles. I think he holds our domestic Radicals in less contempt than Sickles and is much more esteemed by Holden & Co. than S. was.

To J. C. Pass.

Confidential.

Oct. 25 1867.

Opinion of the constitutionality of the Convention.

I do not deem it expedient for reasons I have not time to explain on paper, to give any public advice to the people touching the matter about which you ask for my views.

The proposed Convention is called by an Act of Congress which prescribes who are to vote and who are not to vote.

This I regard as a violation of the Constitution of the United States.

If the Convention be called it is *required* to declare universal suffrage to all male negroes over 21 years old, regardless of intelligence, and it *may* deny the right of suffrage to as many white men as it may think proper.

All who vote for a Convention necessarily vote for universal negro suffrage as a provision in our Constitution, which is not at all likely could be amended for generations, because constitutional amendments require more than a majority—and all the negroes would vote on such amendment.

This I regard as founding government on *ignorance* and not on intelligence, and I could not vote for it.

If the Convention do all that is required, we are not to be admitted to representation until we ratify the Howard amendment and elect members who can take the teste oath.

I can see no hope for the future under such a government. No *voluntary* act of mine shall fix such a government on us. If Congress have something worse in reserve for us, I can submit to power I cannot resist—and obey—but not voluntary sanction what my judgment and conscience disapprove.

As a majority of all the registered voters must vote on the question of Convention or no Convention, in order to carry the measure, if I had a vote and desired to defeat the call, I should go to the polls and vote for the best delegates and would not vote at all for or against a Convention.

There are (say) 65,000 registered negro voters and 95,000 whites. To carry the Convention a little more than 80,000 must vote. Not more than 55,000 negroes will vote. Then a little more than 25,000 white must vote for and against Convention, or it fails.

You may use these ideals as you please, but *not as coming from me.* You must not use my name in connection with the subject.

I hold that "it is never expedient to do wrong"; and with my views, if I were to favor such a Convention, I should violate my oath to support the Constitution of the U. S. and otherwise do what I believe to be wrong.

To William Clark.

Raleigh *Oct. 26/67.*

Opinions as to politics.

The pressure of my imperative duties denies me the pleasure of complying with your request to write you often.

In domestic matters nothing important has occurred, I believe, since I last wrote you. I think my last was since the death of my mother, which has created a past to which my mind is continually recurring.

Politically I have seen little to encourage hope for the future. The [*words illegible*] which seems to have possessed the dominant majority of the nation is that the continued ascendency of the party now in power, is essential to the well being of the nation—and that this case must be affected by the ascendency of the negro element in the States lately in rebellion, and by silencing the popular will in Maryland, Delaware Kentucky, and elsewhere, if Radical representation to Congress be not returned.

This reverses the old idea that in a Republic the voter should be intelligent. There can be no people in Christendom more ignorant than the lately emancipated slaves, they are all to vote who are males above 21 years old—while the great bulk of experienced intelligence is denied the right to vote. Every body hitherto deemed fit for a constable, Post Master, County Register, or any other office, State or National, who held any of these positions at any time within 40 years before the war, your people have declared unfit to vote, but every Secessionist, provided he had held no office before the war, though he may have been guilty of all the enormities you impute to us in the progress of the war, is entitled to vote.

In order to insure the election of Radicals to all offices State and National, you have instituted and encouraged secret societies here for the organization of the negroes, and all that part of the white population who are willing to buy favor by fawning, who are bound by oath to vote only for the nominees of such societies.

When the whites see all the negroes and a few time serving whites, headed by Holden and other base men, formed into a coalition devised and carried out by the North, with the aid of the military, to give political ascendency to the negro race, it naturally produces hostility

between races and hatred toward the faction which tramples on all the manhood of the South. Those who most steadily adhered to the Union throughout the war believing the object of the North was to uphold the Constitution and the Union, when they now find, even by the declaration of the acknowledged leader of Congress, that they are legislating regardless of the Constitution;—When he is blind, who does not see that the dominant power is keeping the Union dissolved, in order to maintain party ascendancy, intense hatred towards those who thus act towards us, is the consequence with all save the most ignorant—and the hypocrites who hope to control the country by fawning to the negroes and our oppressors. The natural consequence of the action of Congress is to generate and intensify sectional hatred and hostility between the blacks and whites.

The manifest result of Congressional legislation, involves the keeping up in Souther States an enormous army, to the overthrow of civil liberty and the impoverishment of the whole nation— and the ultimate extermination of the white or black race of the South.

The democrats of the North now wear the livery of the old Whig party. Their watch-words are the Constitution and the Union—Reduction of the standing army and the expenses of the Government—not restoration of the Union by efforts to restore us to the Union by magnanimous forbearance and lenity—the Union not resting on the sword, but national fraternity. The great Union element of the South was the old Whig party. This party abhorred Democracy and Abolition as disunion elements. We now find the only consistent advocates of the Constitution and the Union act under the name of Democrats.

Consequences are very obvious. All good and intelligent men here say little or nothing. They know they are under a grinding military despotism: that personal security imposes silence or hypocritical obedience to despotic power, but there are few who do not regard our rulers as guided by the spirit of the Father of all Evil.

All fools, etc., know that the government we are required to establish by the late acts of Congress, based on universal negro suffrage and the disfranchisement of the most intelligent whites, cannot stand or must result in turning these States into negro colonies—but the voting power, as arranged by Congress, will probably result in the adoption of this horrible monstrosity.

I regard this hastily written communication as entirely personal. It is a calm impression of my conscientious sentiments—but I live under a reign of terror and deem it unsafe and unprofitable to publish my convictions.

I heartily abhorred Secessionism and abolitionism—as equally tending and intended to break up the Union. My views have undergone no change: but I now regard Republicanism, as exhibited by the action of Congress, as equally Devilish, and infinitely meaner than either of those old disunion parties.

At the close of the war my negroes, able to make a living, except Steve, to whom I have paid regular wages, left me. A negro woman aged about 35 with two boys—one about 13 and one about 11—and one girl about 7 or 8—Aunt Lizzie, who has been blind for some 20 years remained with me. They have been an inconvenient burden to me.

The woman is honest—healthy—a good cook and washer—of excellent temper. Her children all healthy and smart—and the labor of the family properly directed, ought to be more than equal to their support—but situated as I am, they are and have been ever since I owned them, a burden to me—but I have felt unwilling to cast poor Lizzie and the rest of them upon the world. And the boys are reaching an age when they will acquire bad habits if not governed. With a Freedmen's bureau here the necessary discipline cannot be used here to bring them up so as to be useful men. The woman has no tact to govern the boys, or to make a living, if turned loose to look out for herself. No sensible man will take a negro appren-

tice while an arbitrary tribunal exists here before which he is liable to be summoned and the indentures can be called at the pleasure of some contemptible autocrat.

I called on the Chief of the Freedman's bureau a day or two ago and made a representation of these facts. He agreed to accept Lizzie in his hospital here—and advised me if I could get some responsible person in your State or other Northern States to agree to look out homes and employment for the woman and children, he would send them at the expense of the government to such person. If you will assume the commission of receiving and looking out for them, I will immediately send them, if I can get their consent to go. I think I can prevail on them to go. What say you?

Dr. Roberts who married Corinna with their children are living with us. He is in failing health—consumption —and I fear will never recover. He has no property. Roxana, with little left save her land, and surrounded with vast numbers of lazy, thriving negroes, can't make her land support her and educate her children respectably. I shall have to aid her while I live. With these burdens on my income I must be economical.

The legislation of Congress, establishing the political ascendency of the negro, repels all immigration from here except from Africa and hence we can't sell our lands—otherwise few discreet white persons would remain. If it were possible for me to sell Roxana's lands for half what they were worth at the beginning of the war, I should urge her to sell out and remove to the West.

Economy, Indiana.

To William A. Graham.

Oct. 28 1867.

The Reconstruction acts.

I heartily concur in your late letter touching the acts falsely called Reconstruction. It is incomprehensible to me how anybody not willing to give to every male negro

above 21 years old the Constitutional right to vote; and not willing to adopt the Howard Amendment, can vote "for Convention": but the only chance to defeat the call, if there be any, is by unanimous non-voting for or against Convention, by those who would defeat it. In this way I am by no means certain that a majority of all the registered voters could be had.

I deem it inexpedient, if not unjust to the people, to give publicity to this opinion. It would doubtless result in my removal and the appointment of a Radical Govr— and would thus be to alarm the people and to increase rather than diminish, the anti Convention vote.

Hillsboro.

From David G. Worth.

Wilmington, N. C. *Oct. 28th 1867.*

Your two letters of 24th, 25th have been recd. I thank you for answers to my questions about Convention. The *Journal* does not seem to me very decided as to what course to take. I think it favors the idea of bringing all the force possible to bear against Convention and not letting it go by default. If you could only with safety speak out your views they would have a powerful influence but on the whole it must be most politic and advisable that you keep silent. The people here seem cowed—or at least hopeless of success and therefore are not exerting themselves.

The Str. "Gov. Worth" will leave here on Monday the 11th of Novr.—she can leave very early in the morning and reach Fayetteville early Tuesday morning which will suit you precisely. You had better come down Saturday and stay with Sunday. Can't Ma come with you, or in advance of you. We should like so much to have her with us now. We are all very well. We have had a most severe rain and wind storm today. It has continued since 9 o'clock this morning till now 5 o'clock P. M.

I am very glad to hear of D. Robert's improved condition. Much love to all.

To James W. Osborn.

Oct. 29 1867.

Personal and Confidential.

Opinions on Reconstruction.

My private Sec. has answered the business portion of yr. letter. In relation to yr. observations touching the measures falsely denominated re-construction measures I deem it unjust to those who supported me for my present position, to make a public avowal of my views. I believe these acts to be in violation of the Constitution of the U. S., which, independent of my repeated oaths to support it, I regard as furnishing the best basis of good government which can be devised.

I regard a vote for the proposed Convention as endorsing universal negro suffrage, and the Howard amendment—which I regard as basing government on the ignorance instead of the intelligence of the governing power. This I regard as wrong, per se, and I hold that it is never expedient to do wrong. If I had a vote, which is denied me, I would vote for delegates in order to mitigate the evil of such a Convention –and as the most effectual way to express my disapprobation of the whole scheme, I would not vote for or against Convention.

This is giving you frankly (but confidentially) my decided convictions. I have not leisure to discuss the subject more fully.

It seems to me positively humiliating for a North Carolina white man to vote for a Convention which *must* establish universal negro suffrage—and which expressly contemplates the adoption of the disfranchising Howard amendment as an indispensable preliminary to allowing us a representation in Congress by teste oath men.

Charlotte.

From Benjamin Askew to Sion H. Rogers.

Trenton Jones County N. C. *Oct. 30 1867.*

The Military authorities having removed the Sheriff of the County from office and appointed another one in his place whose bond has not been accepted by the magistrates of the County, on the grounds of insufficiency and the absence of one obligor to said bonds to acknowledge the execution of the same by him. I have since been directed and ordered by the Military authorities at Newbern to receive said bonds, file the same and qualify the new appointee notwithstanding its non-acceptance by the Court. There is no probate on the bonds or any revenue stamps or any evidence of its acceptance. The Chairman of the Court declines to put his probate upon it. Please inform me if the Clerk can deliver it to the Public Registry in its present shape and advise me what further action to take in the premises.

To John H. Wheeler.

Raleigh, *Oct. 31/67.*

The military government.

I am having the statistics collected which you desire for your second edition of your History of N. C. from authentic sources and will endeavor in a few days to forward to you a full compliance with your requests.

Our condition has been in no respects bettered by the substitution of Genl. C. for Genl. S. He continues to enlarge the iniquitous code which S. inflicted on us. He has not revoked a single one of the edicts of S. so far as I can remember. He has modified some of them by making them more objectionable. He continues his military courts to try civilians—arresting and carrying them to Charleston for trial without any preliminary investigations, to the utter ruin generally of the section. The protractive character of these military trials makes them so expensive to

the accused, that few get through them with any subsistence left. There is no just pretext for the holding of these Courts to try civilians. No honorable Yankee officer—not even Holden—can pretend that justice is not impartially administered in our Supr. Courts. It is masked malevolent oppressive. C. has lately allowed the accused to give bail in cases bailable by our laws, but by strange conditions in the bail bond, he has made it difficult to comply with his requirements. No one knows at what hour he may be arrested, for some pretended offence, not made known to him and without preliminary trial, and imprisoned in a military fortress. S. began this—C. continues it.

S. created at Fayetteville what he denominated a Provost Court—with jurisdiction to try all suits in five counties, civil and criminal—not extending to life—appointed three mechanics no one of whom was a justice of the peace, much less a lawyer, to preside over this Court with a salary of $4. per day to *be paid out of the fines they should impose.* Such a characture upon justice has not been heard of since Sancho Panza's day. C. continues this monstrosity—having somewhat curtailed its jurisdiction. S. required every body, white and black, who had paid a poll tax this year, to be put on the lists and juries drawn therefrom, leaving the Court no power to purge the lists by casting out either the ignorant or the inferiors: C. has amended this by some power to purge the lists, but has made the edict far worse by disqualifying all unregistered persons to serve on juries. Trial by juries thus composed is worse than a farce. It would have been better to have abolished trial by jury. In an interview I lately had with the General, expressing urgent remonstrance against excluding unregistered men, he promised to limit his order so as to allow them to be be sworn, reserving the right of challenge to either party. In his revised order received last night he has not made the promised change.

He is continually announcing the removal of justices of the peace, shffs and even constables upon *ex parte*

charges, not made known to the accused, and filling the vacancies without any reference to the will of those among whom the officers are to serve.

My acquaintance with General Canby makes me regard him favorably as a candid, unostentatious man, but I think he is, from convictions, an extreme Radical and he consequently executes the legislation of the Congress, not simply from a sense of administrative duty, but from belief that such legislation is wise, just and constitutional. I regard him as incapable of the magnanimous and statesmanlike views expressed by Genl S. in his late to. Trumbull—but I do not believe, when he leaves us, that he will slander us as S. has in his late speeches by an entire disregard of truth. In two cases which he has cited to show the necessity of keeping up military government here, the Johnson case and the case of whipping a negro woman, he has wilfully and ignobly perverted the facts.

This hastily written letter is called forth by your inquiries. You must regard it as strictly personal and confidential. I do not deem it just to those who placed me in my present honorable position to bring about my removal and the substitution of Holden or other vindictive Radicals, which I suppose would be the result of the publication of this letter. I should feel no personal grief at such a result, but do not feel that I would be justified in publishing views which would be likely to bring about such result, and which would not be likely to do any good.

We live under an unmitigated despotism. The adoption of the Congressional plan, falsely called, reconstruction, would but fasten this despotism on us and bring on ourselves self-degradation.

As the President no doubt thinks he mitigated our troubles by the substitution of Canby for Sickles, I have no objection that he see this letter. Beyond this let it be regarded as strictly confidential.

I see no hope for the future save in the returning sense of patriotism and justice on the part of our conquerors.

The nation is now divided into conquerors and conquered, and the vanquished are at the mercy of those who hold the bayonets.

Washington, D. C.

To Henry T. Clark.

Nov. 2 1867.

Jury regulations.

Since the first movement by Genl. Sickles proscribing a mode of drawing juries, the effect of which as I conceived would be to make trial by jury a farce, I have been in correspondence with the generals in command, using my utmost efforts to get modifications of the orders, which would make them more tolerable. Genl. S's order No. 32 required the drawing of the jury from the list of tax-payers this year—without allowing the Court before drawing, to purge the list, by casting out the infamous, or deaf or blind or idiots and others manifestly unfit to serve.

Genl. Canby, by his order No. 89, modified No. 32, by inserting the words "and who are qualified" and he authorised me to say to the Courts that he means by these words to authorise the Courts to purge the lists of tax-payers, before drawing, by casting out the names of such persons as they may deem "unfit to serve as jurors. Of course he could not sustain any interpretation that all negroes are "unfit," but it will enable you to cast out the vicious and grossly ignorant and others physically unable to serve. But Genl. Canby's order No. 89, as I understand it would exclude from the list all tax-payers not registered as voters. I insisted that the Courts could not comply with this order until they were furnished with a certified copy of the Registration books—and that I thought the fact that a citizen, denied the right to vote for a political object, should [not ?] be held so contaminated, as to be unfit to be a juror. His last order No. 109, a copy of which I herewith enclose, I understand as not requiring

the unregistered voter to be excluded from the list, but after he shall have been drawn and put on the jury, gives the right of challenge to each of the parties. The order seems to me to be absolutely expressed, but I have written the General that this is my interpretation: and not having heard from him, dissenting to this interpretation, your Court may act on it.

I am prevented by extreme pressure of urgent business from replying to the other portion of your letter. I would gladly do so if I had time. I can only say now that I am firmly convinced that I acted judicially and properly in the matter to which you refer and that I feel confident, when I shall see you or find leisure to write a long letter, I shall convince you that my action in the matter ought not to diminish the confidence and regard you have hitherto felt for me and which I so highly appreciate.

TARBORO.

To John W. Haughton.

Nov. 2 1867.

I have reed and forwarded to Genl. Canby the petition of the Sheriff of Jones with my favorable endorsement—but where a removal is made upon a secret *ex-parte* representation, I need not say *to you* that there is little hope of redress. The maxim of justice that a party accused should never be convicted unheard is well understood by *all* men, whether rendered familiar with the administration of justice by practice or not.

NEW BERN.

To Z. B. Vance.

RALEIGH *Nov. 3/67.*

I have urged upon Judge Gilmer to go to Charlotte, even if he could not get there till the train would carry him down on Saturday.

Since I saw you I have received from Genl. Canby the petition of your firm—Vance & Dowd—in behalf of certain of your clients who have claims against the W. C. & R. R. R. Co., substantially asking his interposition for the relief on your clients on the ground that our laws, as interpreted by our Justices, would not render justice to your clients—and therefore asking in their behalf the interposition of the military Commandant of District No. 2. I had hoped that gentlemen of the bar would not have asked of the military despotism now ruling over us, any thing more than non-interference with our laws and their administration by our Courts.

My answer to Genl. Canby compliments Capt. Inzalla for his intelligent commentary upon your application, and refusal to comply with the prayers of your petition.

Charlotte.

To J. M. Coffin.

Nov. 6. 1867.

* * * * * * *

I am overjoyed at the election issues. It affords reasonable hope that we are not to be driven into barbarism and will tend powerfully to restore friendly relations again between the North and the South. Of all the parties the Devil has ever set up to afflict good men, he has brought his work nearest to perfection in the present Republican party.

Salisbury.

To R. Y. McAden.

Raleigh, *Nov. 8/67.*

Urging him to be a candidate.

From all I can learn a Radical will be elected from Alamance unless you consent to be a candidate. If this

be so, I trust I need not urge you to run. Personal as well as patriotic considerations should urge you to run.

I do not suppose that ultra Holden Radicals have the ascendant in Alamance, but there is but a *shade* of difference between the moderate and the ultra Republicans. I regard the former as the more dangerous. The extravagance of the ultra defeat their designs. The moderate go for re-construction on the Congressional plan—to-wit, universal negro suffrage—the ratification of the Howard amendment of the Constitution—and the teste oath as qualification for office. Once get these provisions inserted in the fundamental law, so that they can only be expunged by the concurrence of a large part of the negro vote—— Universal negro suffrage is utter ruin to the South.

I hope you will run. As my affidavit may be necessary that Holt has paid me nothing I think I will go up on Thursday of your Court and accept your invitation to be your guest.

Graham.

To General E. R. S. Canby.

Raleigh *Nov. 8th 1867.*

I enclose copy of a communication from the Chairman of Jones County Court sent thro me to the Attorney General.

I do not perceive that the opinion of the Attorney General can be of any importance to the writer and send a copy of this to you in order to bring the facts, as stated by Mr. Whitaker to your attention for such action as you may deem expedient—respectfully suggesting that unless there be very cogent reasons to the contrary, the old Sheriff ought to be allowed to complete the collection of taxes due on the lists in his hands at the time of his removal.

From Joshua Boner.

Salem, N. C. *November 8th 1867.*

A little matter turned up today of so trifling a nature, yet of interest enough, to awaken the inquiry, "Is it right?" The Revenue Collector John Worth appeared at the Court House this day to collect revenue-tax; and as I had failed to appear there some time heretofore, (simply because I had no notice of it) I found a note on my table notifying me that the tax of $1.00 had increased to the amount of $3.70!!! The old assessor Dr. Johnson had promised me to pay this tax, and consequently I spoke to Mr. Worth; and when I called on him this day he actually collected out of me and others of this community the additional tax of $2.70!! My object in drawing your attention to this subject is, to inquire if the $2.60 for mileage is according *"to Law?"* I paid 64 mileage! As there are several of us interested in this matter, I beg leave to put this inquiry to you.

From Joshua Boner.

Salem, *Nov. 9th 1867.*

Concerning revenue matters.

It now turns up, that the Revenue Collector, on yesterday made one person pay 10 cts. for Notice given, and another he charged 40 cts. for Notice given; and, on inquiry being made why the difference, he said that the one notice was sent by mail, and the other was sent by his agent! Why is it, that not all persons were not notified through the mail. His sight must be very defective, as he mistook 15 cts. for so many dollars and actually charged it as such; but, when notified of this fact, he corrected the mistake. And why is it, that our citizens, who are industriously working and staying at home, and are *desirous of doing* right, whenever they ask for information from "Government Officials," are always receiving the an-

swer "that they don't know"!! and are at last saddled with unnecessary costs, and then differences made, as stated above.

Do not these officers get a regular salary; or do they depend upon these extra costs for their salaries? If money were flush these things might be permitted to pass unnoticed; but in our times, when our people are hard run for funds, such gross irregularities, are out of tone and out of time.

Again: One party on yesterday was charged $2.76 and another 20 cents; and these two cases were perfectly identical, and were in one man's hand, though the fact was not known to the officer. Now my dear Governor, the case just cited was *Dr. T. F. Keeht,* who took into his hands his "brother-in-law's case," simply because he found his brother-in-law was only charged with *20 cents!* I appeal to you, respected sir, to have this gross injustice done our citizens *looked into* and righted, if it be possible!

I will not say who ought to be held responsible for this outrage; but I feel convinced that this matter is instigated by an enemy to you, and one who is known here, *"as a radical!"*

If you can do anything for us, dear Governor, it would be received with thousand thanks by all who are opposed to the theory of negro-equality!

To J. M. Worth.

Nov. 21, 1867.

Sale of the swamp lands.

The sale of the Swamp lands to a Northern Co. is conditional. They have 60 days to affirm or reject the terms. I regard it as *very uncertain* whether it will be confirmed or not.

The more I learn about the W. O. Swamp the more am I convinced that the purchase, on the terms we offer, would be a magnificent enterprise, if our *political* troubles were settled—but while they remain *unsettled* I have felt unwilling that you embark in the enterprise. If successful you would have to devote your time and embark much of your fortune on the enterprise. If *universal negro suffrage* is to be the basis of our future government, then *universal blight* must ensue. They have strength enough (sufficient numbers) even in North Carolina, with the base allies their numbers will bring, to be the ruling power. In the present uncertainty I would regret to see you invest largely in an enterprise which must rest for success on stable and safe government. We are still in the midst of Revolution—dependent entirely on the will of the dominant North and not a little in danger of a war of races.

Asheboro.

To Joshua Boner.

Nov. 21st, 1867.

Revenue fees.

A temporary absence from home is my excuse for not answering yours of the 8th and 9th Nov. at an earlier day.

They involve an inquiry into the fees allowed by acts of Congress to collectors of Internal Revenue which would require much time—and if such inquiry should result in showing that the fees collected were not sustained by law, I could do nothing, save by remonstrance, to relieve the parties injured.

I advise you to present the facts to Mr. Starbuck, District Atto. for the United States. If the fees collected exceed in amount what the laws allow, it will be his duty to indict the parties exacting such fees. I cannot believe he will countenance the exaction of illegal fees from our citizens.

If you should fail to get redress as indicated, I will most willingly give you the benefit of any aid I can give you as Governor of North Carolina, under the existing state of affairs.

Salem.

To J. M. Parrott.

Nov. 22, 1867.

Have you been able to get corn for me on the cars at $1. per bushel? If it can be had at this price I would like to have a car load or any less quantity. I am now fairly out of corn. Let we know the prospect at as early a day as you can conveniently.

The little we have heard as to the elections is *very black* owing to white voters refusing to vote.

Kinston.

To James H. Lea.

Raleigh, *Nov. 23/67.*

Genl. Canby now sends his orders touching our Courts to the judges and chm. of the County Courts. His final orders, as I understand them, touching the drawing of juries, require the Court to make a list of all who paid a tax for the year ending Sept. 30/67. Your means of ascertaining who has paid such a tax must be the returns of the Sheriffs, I presume:—you are allowed before drawing the jury to purge this list, by casting out of this list, before drawing, all those whom you deem unfit to serve on account of want of intelligence, no one being rejected simply on account of his color. Non-registered voters are not to be excluded from the drawing—but may be challenged and put off the jury by either party. The Chairman of the County Courts may call special sessions of

Canby's jury orders.

their Court for this purpose, appointing their own days for such call. As the matter has been long postponed, I presume the General will expect now prompt action in the premises, so that a jury, drawn in conformity with these orders, may be ready for next Court.

YANCEYVILLE.

From Calvin H. Wiley.

Private.

GREENSBORO, N. C., *Nov. 25 1867.*

Educational matters.

Yours of the 21st is to hand. The petition to which you refer was handed to you Thursday, the day before we adjourned at our last meeting. You were just starting home, and I handed it and a letter to the Lit. Board to you, simply remarking, that you could read it at your leisure. I suppose you and Maj. H. had concluded to wait until you saw Mr. Parrott. No doubt in the multiplicity of your duties, you laid it by and overlooked it.

I stated my reason, in the letter to the Board, for asking the decision now. The more I hear and see the better satisfied I am that we have made a great contract. I labored hard for it: no one but myself knows how hard. I used every influence, writing for the papers, corresponding, night and day, sending off statistics, etc., etc., except when gone North, I was not on salary and yet I worked as hard as if it were my private business; and I feel that I have done something that entitles me to offer my old claim for what it is worth. Those efforts and our success do not effect the *legality* of that claim; but they make me feel more disposed to ask for what may be due. I am sensitive, and I felt for the school fund and was not disposed to offer my claim when I saw the fund depleting tho' that did not affect its justice.

The mission to New York gave me much trouble. A number of persons whom I consulted will tell you I did not want to go, first because I was going into a billious at-

tack, and secondly because I feared I would be hampered, and we would spend money and accomplish little. I went, as these persons will tell you, solely on account of your confidence in me. We cost the Fund heavily, I lost my health, was very sick, and sick sometime after my return.

But I determined to work on on "my own hook," in my own way—and the result is before us. I then felt free to present my old claim for what it is worth. There is a maxim that he who gives quickly gives twice, and if anything is due the sooner it comes the greater its benefaction—I believe we have both been as anxious to accumulate the School Fund as if it were our personal property. I believe if I know myself I would choose personal wants before public privation, and yet there is scriptural warrant for saying the laborer is worthy of his hire. If it were any body else's claim I would believe the Fund would be more prosperous to pay it, for in public as in private matters, money is not made, in the long run, by denying past obligations; but I cannot trust myself to give an opinion about my own. It looks now as if we were laying up for squanderers and spoilers; still this is no reason why we should not do *our* duty.

From B. S. Hedrick.

Nov. 26, 67.

Mr. McPherson says that he wrote you in a letter some time ago for additional evidence in Moss's case for back pay, bounty, etc. of his son. If that evidence can be furnished Mr. McPherson thinks the application will be allowed.

To R. C. Holmes.

Nov. 27th, 1867.

Opposition to Reconstruction.

I approve your action in calling special term of your Co. Court on the 3rd. Sat. in January next,—to reform your jury lists conformably to orders of Genl. Canby.

I have earnestly remonstrated against this innovation upon our time honored plan of making juries from the class, who, by the acquisition of property, proved that they had intelligence and interest in the well-being of society. My remonstrances have been effectual only to this extent:—You are not required to exclude from the list from which the jury is to be drawn *the unregistered voter.* —and from the list of tax-payers you are authorised to purge, before drawing those clearly unfit to serve on account of want of intelligence. You are not to assume that *all* negroes are unfit but you may exclude those who are deficient in ordinary intelligence or degraded by moral obliquity.

I participate with you in abhorrence in a line of policy which proposes to base government on *ignorance,* instead of intelligence, and which substitutes ability to pay a tax as a better teste of fitness to serve on a jury than the possession of a freehold—but as a conquered people there is no degradation in submitting to the power of the bayonet and obeying edicts we have no power to resist.

I am now, as always, anxious to see fraternal Union restored on the basis of the Constitution of the United States —as interpreted by the Judiciary.

CLINTON.

To General Canby.

Nov. 27, 1867.

Mr. Nicholas Williams, the writer of the within letter, sets forth truly the facts on which he bases his petition. He is an old, law-abiding and highly respected citizen of

the State. His residence is in Yadkin County, so remote from transportation by water or Rail that the surplus grain made by him and his neighbors, cannot be made available to relieve the eastern part of the State where the grain crop this year is most deficient.

If you propose to allow any whiskey to be made in the State, I think the privilege should be granted to Mr. Williams.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

To Ralph P. Buxton.

Nov. 27, 1867.

I had contemplated assigning you to hold the special terms ordered for Cumberland and Sampson—and Judge Barnes to hold the special terms ordered for Halifax and Wake. The Court at Halifax is ordered for 1 Monday of January next. I am informed that Judge Barnes was counsel in many of the important suits in Halifax, and such is probably the case as to yourself in Cumberland. I now propose to assign Halifax to you and Cumberland to Judge Barnes. How will this suit you? I have imposed on judges Warren and Gilliam so many extra terms that each of them vehemently remonstrates against being appointed for another. Judge Fowle informs me he proposes to resign very soon, and therefore asks to be excused. Judge Little's health forbids his appointment to hold any special Term. Judges Shipp and Mitchell have been assigned to hold the special terms of Union and Mecklenburg, and if any other special terms in the West have been ordered, I shall nominate them to hold them.

FAYETTEVILLE.

To Thos. J. Wilson, J. M. Leach, J. W. Alspaugh, J. Masten, Jno. H. Welborn.

Dec. 4, 1867.

Yours of 2nd inst. recd. I most cordially thank you for your suggestion. If I can be assured that Mr. Poindexter will agree to accept, I shall most gladly nominate him as a judge to fill vacancy on the bench or otherwise every influence I can in favor of his appointment. Let me know, at as early a day as possible, after actual assurance from him, whether he will accept or not.

Winston.

To R. P. Dick.

Raleigh, *Dec. 13/67.*

I left here last Saturday morning before the delivery of the mail and returned last night and find yours of the 7th inst.

I learn that in the mean time the General commanding has discontinued the Post at Greensboro and I suppose any interference now (especially on my part) would do no good. He did not communicate with me touching the proposed change. If however you think I can serve you or Major Worth I will gladly do so.

Military arrests.

I lately complained to the Prest. of the arrest of the Shff of Caswell and other military arrests, there being no preliminary trial in which the accused was allowed to confront his accusers and submit counter testimony. I called these arrests and trials before Court martial, when nobody pretends that fair trial may not be had in any of our Supr Courts of law, "iniquitous and oppressive." I averred that the arrest of Griffin was made, as I was informed, at the instance of "one Tourgee and Johnson, both men of most detestable character." My interference and account of the character of these two "patriots," as the

General regards them, has involved me in unpleasant correspondence—and I am persuaded a letter from Tourgee to the General will receive much more favorable consideration than one from me. Canby is more tyrannical and has less intelligence and consideration for our people, than his predecessor.

Greensboro.

To C. P. Mendenhall, R. P. Dick, J. A. Gilmer, Thomas Settle, H. C. Worth.

Raleigh, *Dec. 14/67.*

I have felt it my duty more than once to protest against the seizure of our citizens—their imprisonment in places distant from their homes without any preliminary investigation in which the accused was informed of the accusations and permitted to confront his accusers and offer exculpatory evidence—And I have also conscientiously insisted that the civil authorities of the State were now as competent and ready as they ever were to arrest and punish malefactors without the aid of military posts and trials before Court martials. I lately protested both to the Prest. and Genl. Canby at the recent instance of the transportation of the Shff. of Caswell to Charleston for trial before a Court Martial upon the complaint of Tourgee and Johnson, whom I characterise as men of "most detestable character. In my letter to the Prest. I characterised these proceedings as "iniquitous oppression. Genl. C. says he does not accept my account of the characters of Tourgee and Johnson. He labors to show that they are both patriots—and expresses his conviction that Johnson was convicted not for the reason that he had been guilty of the charge, but because he had been a Union soldier. He avers that these military arrests and trials are necessary on account of the leaning of our Courts in favor of rebels and against Union men. Military arrests.

Your petition is based on the idea that the continuance of a standing army as strong as is necessary for the preservation of good order. I am far from concurring with you: and can give your petition no endorsement implying my concurrence; besides I have good reason to believe that the endorsement of Tourgee and Johnson would receive from Genl. Canby more consideration than mine.

With anxious desire to do any thing to oblige each of you, I am neverthe less constrained for the reasons cited to decline to do more than to vouch for your being men alike distinguished for intelligence and patriotism and your views entitled to very great consideration.

To John McKay.

Raleigh, *Dec. 14/67.*

I learn from Roxana who is with us, that you recently told her you might possibly find time to rent out for her her lands and mills, and to otherwise advise as to the management of her concerns. She and I will be inexpressedly obliged to you if you will do so. As it would probably require several days of your time, I would most willingly compensate you, either by doing for you some thing in my power and having my son to transact for you in Wilmington without commission, any business you may have there —or paying you a liberal compensation in cash.

On a matter of this sort I have much more confidence in your judgment than I have in my own or my son's, and both of us are so confined to our business that we can't spare time to give her business proper attention.

If you can be induced to give her your aid it will be necessary that you visit all three of her farms, in order to see there actual condition—and I have no suggestion to make, save only that you exercise the fullest discretion.

From the impossibility of her watching over her hogs

I think it will be better that she keep not more than one breeding sow—considering the number constantly stolen from her I am satisfied she had better buy her pork.

I am confident too that she had better rent out her mills and cotton gin, to some suitable man, she supplying the logs and the party renting receiving his compensation for his services in an equitable part of the products.

There is a very fertile swamp on the McLaurin place and another on the Swamps place—both under fence—which could be easily drained. It would be well to get the tenants to bring these into cultivation, giving him all they should produce for two or three years—but if you will contract the parties and advise her, I have more confidence in your judgment than in my own, and whatever you do will be approved. Will you undertake it? If you will please give your attention to it, at your earliest convenience.

To J. A. Gilmer.

RALEIGH, *Dec. 15th, 1867.*

Need of military force.

In the letter of the 12th inst. addressed to me by yourself and others you ask me to use your influence with Genl. Canby to retain the troops at Greensboro, then stationed there. You say "the conduct of the officers and men has been exemplary and we believe every good citizen feels in their presence a greater security both in person and property. They are a powerful police force and a terror only to evil doers."

If this be so, then the blessing of military government, in preference to civil government, should be greatly extended; and the preamble to the reconstruction act truly recites that such a state of lawlessness exists in North Carolina, that military government was required for the preservation of order. I am very far from concurring in this doctrine. I would gladly see every soldier removed

from the State, and the army reduced every where, and therefore cannot endorse your petition.

Greensboro.

To D. G. McRae.

Raleigh, *Dec. 16/67.*

Please inform me by return mail as accurately as you can at what date you were arrested—how long confined at Ft. Macon—on what day the Court convened in Raleigh for your trial, and on what day you were discharged.

I am required by the Prest. to give him a written history of this trial, which I presume he intends to publish and I wish to be very accurate.

Do you know at what date the evidence was closed on the whole case?

If I refer to Avery's falling out with you and his threats, can you establish the facts if he deny your statement. Will you give me a brief statement as to his displeasure against you and his threats? I wish an answer soon.

To the Chairman of the County Court of Jones.

Raleigh, *Dec. 16/67.*

Has any thing further been done since you wrote me touching the newly appointed Shff's. giving a bond? If so, what has been done? Are the tax lists in the hands of the newly appointed? Please write me at your *earliest convenience* what has been done in the matter since you last wrote me.

Trenton.

To Mr. Philpot.

RALEIGH, *Dec. 18th, 1867.*

I find that in the military Court Henderson Cooper was arraigned and tried on two charges— Case of Henderson Cooper.

1. "Assault and battery with intent to commit a rape."

2. "Aiding and abetting the commission of a rape."

Was he indicted in this form in your Court? Please see the indictment and let me know.

I had got the impression that the proof made by Mrs. Daniels was that each of the negroes in the presence of her daughter had committed rape on her? Am I mistaken as to her testimony? Please answer promptly.

OXFORD.

To Thomas Wilcox.

RALEIGH, *Dec. 18/67.*

Will you oblige me by writing me without delay, giving me any information you have as to the causes for your removal—and of the removal of 17 Justices of your County. When did O. R. Colgrave settle in Jones? Where did he come from? Is D. D. Colgrave his brother? When did he settle in Jones? Does either of them own real or other estate in Jones which is unincumbered? Has O. R. Colgrave given bond, approved by the County Court. If so, who are the sureties and what do you know as to the sufficiency of the bond? Were you required to surrender your tax lists to O. R. Colgrave? Have you surrendered them to him?—and any thing else tending to explain this wholesale removal and the appointment of so many new Justices. I may want to publich your statement or the substance of it.

An early answer will much oblige.

TRENTON.

To Thomas H. Gilliam.

Raleigh, *Dec. 19/67.*

Military arrests.

Genl. Canby in a letter to Genl. Grant, by way of vindicating himself for the arrest and detention of six of your citizens, charged as having rescued Pratt, and of assailing me for complaining of the arrest, asserts that "the arrests were made upon the application of the Shff of Chowan County, based on the affidavits of the jailor and his wife as to the forcible rescue. The prisoners were sent to Ft. Macon for safe keeping until the civil authorities were prepared to try them and the commanding officer of that Post was directed to admit them to bail, if suitable bail was offered. I have more than once in years past and before there was any serious question of rebellion committed the same act of *military despotism.* As the commander of a military post and at the request of the civil authorities I have deemed the arrest of criminals and as an act of comity and of public duty, held them in my guard house until the proper civil authorities were prepared to take charge of them."

This statement is so variant from all the versions of the affair which have been made to me, and so completely emancipates the military, that it is made the occasion of taunting me for applying to it the terms *"military despotism"* in a communication I made to the Prest. I am placed on the defensive and am preparing for the Prest. which I have reason to believe will be published, a communication that will justify my language.

I have the certificate of the Shff. of Chowan positively denying that he asked for the arrest of any of these men—and the affidavit of the jailor proving the rescue, but not pretending to identify the persons who committed it. What I now want is a certificate from one or more of the parties arrested on the following points.

Were the prisoners apprised upon whose evidence they were arrested and detained?

Was any effort made to procure their release on bail? If so, why did the effort fail?

How long were they detained? Were they put to work, as has been reported?

Especially were they discharged on bail or their own recognizance to appear before any tribunal—if so, what tribunal and at what time? And any other facts tending to show that this was an act of "military despotism" and not an act of comity to the civil authorities.

My efforts to preserve some semblance of civil liberty have riled Genl Canby and I trust you will willingly put yourself to some trouble to aid me in my defence and in carrying the war into Africa.

I shall address the communication I am making touching this and other aggressions, to the Prest. at his request, who will probably cause its publication, that the North, now awakening to a sense of Justice, may see that their re-construction schemes are working.

[P. S.] Let me have answer at the earliest practicable period.

HERTFORD.

William H. Bagley to General E. R. S. Canby.

December 25th, 1867.

Election returns.

Your letter of the 20th inst. to the Governor, requesting to be furnished "with a statement of the aggregate vote cast at the election held in the early part of the Summer of 1865, for the election of delegates to Convention to frame a constitution for North Carolina," has been received.

Under the Prov. Governor's Proclamation the returns of the vote for delegates were ordered to be sent to the Secretary of State, and also to the President of the Con-

vention. I have searched the Journals of the Convention and can find no record of the vote whatever. I find in the Secretary of State's office returns of the vote for seventy-one (71) Counties, leaving eighteen (18) not reported. At that time business in the Secretary's office was conducted in a very loose and irregular manner, which, I think, accounts for the unreported counties. If these incomplete returns will be of service to you, they will be copied and forwarded to your address.

After the Convention had met and acted, the Ordinances, abolishing slavery, and declaring the Secession Ordinance (of 1861) null and void, were submitted to the people, and the aggregate vote of the several counties upon these questions, can be obtained. This vote, however, is exceedingly small and would serve as an indication of nothing but the disposition of the people to leave politics alone, and attend to their deranged personal affairs. If you should desire this vote, the Governor will cause a copy to be furnished you, or if the incomplete returns of the special vote referred to in your letter will serve you, a copy will be forwarded on notice.

Indisposition has prevented the Governor from answering your letter himself.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

To General Robert O. Tyler.

RALEIGH, *Dec. 26, 1867.*

Presuming on the kindness and courtesy which you exhibited towards me when in Charleston I venture to ask a favor of you.

By the laws of this State the Governor is entitled to a fixed salary and a furnished mansion, no perquisites or contingent fund. When I was installed as Governor nearly all the furniture had disappeared, and the mansion provided for the Governor was occupied by the military. The

Genl. Assembly nominally raised the salary, but in view of the depreciation of the currency it was not made equivalent to the salary allowed the Govr. before the war; no appropriation was made to supply furniture till the last session. The repairs on the lot and buildings have been so considerable that I have not yet got it in habitable condition. At the last session of the Genl. Assembly a resolution was passed authorizing me to ask the U. S. to allow rent for the occupation of the Governor's mansion, and authorizing me to appropriate to my own use the amount allowed—in consideration of my supplying a mansion for myself. Capt. Atkins, I believe, to whom it has been referred to report what would be a reasonable rent, has fixed on $125. per month, with the approval of Col. Bumford, which, I understand goes to you for approval. This rate, from what I hear, is moderate in reference to the rates paid by the government for other houses here; there being many more rooms than in any other house occupied by the military. I trust you will approve his report. What I desire of you is that you take action on it as soon as may be consistent with your convenience. If approved by you, does it go to Washington for further action? Who will issue the warrant to me to draw the money? Will it be necessary or expedient for me personally or my agent to do any thing further about the matter? I am in a condition that this small sum would be of much benefit to me.

In view of a very deficient crop and the low price of cotton and naval stores, and the political condition of the country our people are gloomy. The Christmas has not been a merry one with us.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

To B. G. Worth.

Raleigh, *Dec. 26/67.*

Business matters.

I have been much gratified at the cheerful tone of yr. two last letters as compared with the preceding one. It is probably presumptuous in me to offer you my advice in commercial matters, but my conviction is so strong that a monetary crash throughout the nation is not far distant, of an appalling character, when the little honor now existing will nearly disappear, that I think few mercantile houses, having a large amount of liabilities to meet out of debts due them, can survive. With these views I shall feel solicitude for you while you are much in debt, however flattering your balance sheet may appear. I presume the mass of yr. debtors are in N. C. and other Southern States. Prosperity cannot revive soon in the South. The negroes work better now than they will in future. The race never did work voluntarily—and never will. With free negro labor we shall never prosper. Our country (the South) is much poorer than it was when the war closed, and will continue to grow poorer until the relative number of negroes shall be diminished, and the North shall allow us to manage our local affairs without interference. I have not got the jaundice. These are the convictions of my sober judgt. If the miserable set of jackasses, from Generals down to the Freedmen's Bureau men, were withdrawn and we were allowed to re-organize the militia and pass and enforce a stringent vagrant act—even if we were compelled to give transportation to every negro desiring to move to any of the negro loving States, to which they might be desired to remove, we would rapidly recuperate,—the conditions of the negro would be improved and the North would be benefitted by the revival amongst us: but we have no rational ground of hope while Radicalism rules.

I have been to my office but once since my return from Washington. Under the injunction of my doctor I have

staid by my fireside—took physick every day—have been able to do and have done much business every day and feel that I am gradually improving.

P. S. In giving us Canby for Sickles the Prest. swapped a devil for a witch. My revelations to the Prest. astounded him. He required me to write out my narrative and communicate it to him. I have nearly completed it. His purpose was to publish it. If he does so, I think it will produce a sensation. I state nothing which I cannot sustain by documentary proof. I think it will result in the removal of myself or Canby. Let it come. I will not be a subservient serf for the sake of office:—have not time to give you particulars.

To William Clark.

RALEIGH, *Dec. 28/67.*

Discussion of the negro.

I would gladly try to remove some of your mistaken notions in relation to the existing state of affairs if I had time. It is annoying to me that the Quakers generally—and especially you whom I know to be a sensible good man and acquainted with the negro, should believe under the circumstances that the African race is capable of attaining to a respectable degree of civilization. I do not think that you are sincere—but are you really sure that you are sincere. If you really think they could be made good citizens, why do you not invite them to immigrate from the South and dwell among you? as you do invite the German, the Irishman—any of the white races? I am no lover of slavery. I feel toward the negro not only no hatred but nothing but kindness and pity; but I know from observation of history that the African left to its own self-control, is so indolent and improvident, that he will not—indeed I think he cannot be made a good citizen. I speak of the race, not of individual cases trained by contact with the

whites. I cannot give the Northern Radicals credit (I mean the best of them—the worst of them I regard as the meanest tyrants on earth) for sincerity when they insist that the negroes can be made good citizens. Actions speak louder than words. They are rapidly sinking into their natural position and by an irresistible law of nature, will soon perish out in contact with a superior race—and in the mean time will be the curse of our country. They retarded our prosperity as slaves. As free negroes they will be the curse of our Country—particularly of the South.

How is Barney Coffin coming on? Has he protected his services? What is he doing? I send a No. of the *National Intelligencer*—always conservative and always edited by able statesmen. I beg you to read it. It presents a truthful picture of our condition and of the workings of Devilish Radicalism.

To J. Turner, Jr.

Raleigh, *Dec. 30/67.*

I have a letter from G. F. Lewis, to whom the Trustees of the University contracted to sell our Agricultural land scrip. He says he will want to visit this State several times this summer and asks me to procure for him "the usual editorial passes" over our chief roads, and hands inclosed tickets to show the practice here. Please return the tickets with the pass or your refusal to grant it.

I wish he had not troubled me with this commission.

What is the freight per bu. for shelled corn in bags from Salisbury to this place—what on both roads from Statesville to Raleigh?

Company's Shops.

To J. W. Martin.

Raleigh, *Dec. 31st, 1867.*

Case of Tolar and others.

I have hitherto done and am continuing to do all I properly can do for Capt. Tolar and the two men convicted with him—Powers and Watkins,—because if they were guilty of the charge, the punishment is out of all proportion for a crime springing from a noble rather than from a depraved heart—and because I believe the evidence as to Tolar, was so contradictory (the more credible witnesses proving his innocence) that no fair tribunal could have convicted him—and as to the other two convicts in whose behalf less public sympathy is exhibited, that there was *no* evidence warranting a conviction.

Besides writing to the Prest. asking for the pardon, I lately made a strong oral representation to him, giving him a full history of this matter, as well as ones even worse, against the military oppression we are enduring. He heard me at length with profound interest. The matters of malignant military oppression to which I called his attention have not been furnished to the press:—but are authenticated by my correspondence with the military, which prudential reasons have restrained me from publishing. At his urgent request I have just concluded a letter to him, giving him in writing the substance of my narrative, sustained by copies of the documents establishing all the facts, among which is a history of the fiendish malignity with which Capt. Tolar and others have been persecuted for the alleged murder of Beebe. Be assured if they are not pardoned, it cannot be attributed to want of zealous effort on my part. Your letter would have been sooner answered if I had been able to answer it. I have been confined to my fireside by sickness for two weeks, and the writing out of the voluminous narrative for the Prest. and other public duties have taxed me heavily.

Beaufort.

To W. G. Moore.

RALEIGH, *Dec 31/67.*

Military government.

I have been sick all the time since I saw you—am now getting well I hope.

I shall send you by Express to-morrow a communication which I have made out at the request of the Prest. giving an idea of the operations of our Military Commanders. I have deemed it necessary to accompany it with many extracts to sustain my narrative. This makes the pile of paper formidable. I have had my statement copied by my daughter because she writes very legibly. I beg you not to refrain from reading it on account of its length.

Any of the orders [*Three words illegible*] would justify the removal of Canby—especially his jury orders which are rapidly disbanding our Courts—his Provost Courts and his numerous arrests of citizens and their trial before Court martial

If you will read this narrative to the President or get him to read it, and he shall think proper to remove Genl. Canby, and appoint a fit successor, I am perfectly willing that the whole of it, or any part of it, with or without the extracts be published over my signature. But if this be published with Canby still in office I shall be removed: and if for any reason the President should remove him I could not be re-instated [*Several words illegible.*] as I cannot take the iron-clad oath and my people would severely criticize me for any act resulting in putting in a new Govr. over them.

I have submitted the documents to the hands of the President to do with them what he may think best. It is well known that I have always been an ardent follower of the great Whig leader Henry Clay:—always opposed to Nullification, Secession, Abolitionism and all other doctrines looking to a dissolution of the Union:—that as a member of the Senate of this State, I voted in May 1861

(only two others voting with me) against the Convention called to pass the ordinance of Secession—and that because I felt it my duty when war was inaugurated which I could not prevent, to co-operate with my section. I always preferred that peace should be made on the basis of the Constitution of the U. S. as established by our fathers. I am now reviled as a *"rebel"* by those who have devoted their lives to fostering sectional alienation, and my revilers are caressed by the fraction of a Constitutional Congress.

I learn this morning that Genl. Canby's latest legislative feat is the issuance of orders to the Post Commander here for the suppressing or regulating of the whore houses of this little city. I have not seen these orders:—will send you a copy of them if I can get a copy.—"Nero fiddles while Rome is on fire".

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Andrew Johnson.

RALEIGH, *Dec. 31 1867.*

I learn that my friend, B. S. Hedrick, a native of this State, now holding an important position in the Patent Office, may present his name to you for nomination to fill the vacancy of Comr. of Patents. He graduated with distinction in our University—was for a considerable time one of its professors,—is a gentleman of exemplary moral character, and is familiar of the duties of the position he seeks to fill. He is ardently attached to his native State and has rendered me much service in Washington since I have been Governor. I regard him as an eminently suitable man to fill this vacancy, and I shall feel personally obliged if you shall think proper to nominate him: and I think our people would be gratified at such mark of appreciation for one of her sons, who is indebted to his own efforts for his highly respectable attainments.

To David L. Swain.

Raleigh. *Dec. 31 1867.*

I herewith transmit a copy of the resolution passed at the late meeting of the Trustees of the University in which I heartily concur.

The indisposition which prevented my being present when the resolution was passed has confined me to my fireside up to this time, and many pressing official duties have so occupied the time I could devote to them, that I hope you will excuse my apparent tardiness in transmitting it to you.

My health is much improved.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

To John Kerr.

Raleigh, *Jan. 1/68.*

Military government.

You will remember with what reluctance I pardoned Johnson, in the face of what seemed to be the universal demand of my friends, backed by the military authorities of the U. S. In view of all our surroundings the facts brought to my knowledge led me to believe that he ought to have been convicted for larceny and not Burglary. The alternative of hanging—or total exemption from imprisonment, for a great crime depended on my action. The delegation from Caswell, backed by Mr. Hill and the military, pressed the petition for out and out pardon. I most reluctantly granted the pardon, upon the condition that the convict pay the costs, which Mr. Hill represented he would do:—But when it was ascertained he could not pay the costs, I made the pardon unconditional. I had written to our friend Mr. Settle for the proofs on the trial. He had failed to answer. This much to excuse myself for pardoning this villian. For your part in it, it is

enough that you were his counsel. I held the scales of justice. If they were not "right adjusted" I think I am not culpable.

I had been for months corresponding with the poor devils whom Congress had made our military governors, against the trial of civilians by court martial: and was full of indignation at the want of regard for these remonstrances when the letter touching the arrest of Griffin was recd. I immediately addressed the Prest. I inclose copy of my letter, and again asked Mr. Settle for a version of the facts proved on the trial of Johnson, as your letter stated that Griffin had been arrested upon the evidence of this felon and Tourgee, whom I regard as a still greater villain. Mr. Settle answered promptly, and I forwarded it with my remonstrance, to Genl Canby.

The Prest. referred my letter, addressed to him, to Genl Grant, who referred it to Genl Canby. The terms "iniquity" and "military oppression"—gave offence—and drew from him by way of reply, a little volume addressed to Genl Grant, (a partial copy of which Genl. Canby furnishes me) assailing our Courts generally—sustaining the character of Tourgee as a Capt. of the U. S. army and extolling Johnson for his partriotic services in the U. S. army—assailing me for "disingenuousness,"—purporting to detail the evidence in Johnson's trial and summing up with the conclusions—first—that Johnson was convicted not for the offence with which he was charged, but because he had deserted the Confederate army—and had fled the conscription hunters, and joined the U. S. army—had guided Sherman and "ought to be hanged any how." I thought I could see in this letter, coupled with the givings out of the devil who presides over Radicalism in N. C., my official decapitation—and as an act of duty to the people of the State, went to see the president. He was astonished with my account of military usurpation in N. C.—and requested me, urgently, to furnish him in writing a narrative of the facts I had stated to him:—interference

with our juries—Court martials for the trial of civilians —arbitrary arrests—and removals from office, etc with copies of my remonstrances against these things. I have been confined to my fireside by sickness since my return —but have just completed the narrative, sustained by unanswerable proofs—copies of my correspondence with Sickles and Canby. I expect it to result in Canby's removal—or in my removal. The Prest. will sustain me with all the power he has. This rapid review brings me to the purpose of this letter. It may become very important to me to know all that is known to Mr. Griffith, as to his arrest and trial. Were Johnson or Tourgee—or either of them examined or their affidavits brought forward on the trial? What did they prove? What were the charge and specification vs. Griffith? To what costs and expense was he subjected? Any other facts you deem it important for me to know.

In Genl. Canby's letter to Grant, he lays down as a principle of public law, sustained he says by the President's proclamation of the 29 Apl 1865, that all the preceedings in our Courts during the rebellion, are absolutely null and void: hence the indictment against Johnson was a nullity: and that the Court would have been guilty of "murder if he had been hanged".

The subject is too wide to allow me (oppressed with other duties) to go more into detail.

In view of all the circumstances, public and personal, I am sure you will not regard me as asking too much of you.

Yanceyville.

To Commander of Post, Newbern.

Raleigh *Jan. 1/68.*

I am informed that a large band of banditti who have been committing robbery and murder in Pitt County have

been arrested and are now confined in jail at Greenville. I am afraid they will be rescued or make their escape. I have sent a commission to Judge Warren to hold a Court of Oyer and Terminer in Pitt at an early day for their trial. As we are not permitted to organise the militia, will you send without delay an adequate detail of reliable soldiers to guard the jail until their trial:—and if convicted, until they shall be executed.

To ——————

Raleigh. *Jan. 2nd 1868.*

I have long known Bryan Tyson by reputation. He lived in this State at the breaking out of the late war (I think he is a native of this State). By printed publications and otherwise he strongly opposed the war and has always been an ardent supporter of the Union. I think no man can be found in America who has at all times more consistently supported the Union.

He is an enterprising man and has done much for the distressed people of North Carolina since he took up his residence in Washington City, some three or four years ago. He has my fervent wishes for success wherever he be and in whatever business enterprises he may engage. Like all *zealous* Union men he is now reviled by many new converts in this State.

To Bryan Tyson.

Raleigh, *Jan. 2nd 1868.*

I came home from Washington quite sick some four weeks ago—have been able to get to my office only twice on very special business, remaining only a few minutes, since my return from Washington. I have hardly been

able to attend to my important official duties. I regret that among the many things deferred has been such delay in answering as to draw from your note of the 9th ult. As it does me unintentional wrong, I herewith return it, its theme being oppressive.

My health is not restored—and I write with difficulty and a tremulous hand.

Washington City.

To Governor Charles J. Jenkins.[1]

Raleigh, *Jan. 3/68.*

Various matters connected with Reconstruction.

Judging from your last annual campaign and other sources of information, I have thought there was much accordance between yr. views and mine in relation to the late convulsions in the National Government—and the measures proper to be adopted to repair the terrible mischiefs resulting from it:—and being in Washington city last spring to collect all the information I could by which to shield my conduct in the anomalous condition we were placed by the legislation of Congress: and learning from Judge Sharkie and Govr. Parsons, that you had gone to N. Y. and that your return to Washington was daily expected, I waited several days to see you and interchange views with you as to the course we ought to adopt, in the then existing state of affairs, particularly in reference to the question as to the expediency of seeking relief from the acts of Congress, then recently passed, through the Supreme Court of the U. S.

Believing that the plan of Govrs. Sharkie and Walker would not elicit a decision of the Court on the constitutionality of the acts—I decided not to make N. C. a party to the proposed suit. Your stay in N. Y. being protracted beyond what your friends expected, I returned home, disappointed as to meeting you.

I have never doubted as to the unconstitutionality of these acts, or as to their vicious tendency.

[1] Governor of Georgia.

I was always friendly attached to the old Constitution and Union party: an ardent admirer of Clay and Webster—and their co-adjutors: was a member of the Senate in this State—and even in May, 1861, voted against the Convention to dissolve the Union, only two others acting with me. Strong as were my convictions against the views of our Secession friends, they were stronger against the other disunion party,—the Abolitionists. When my efforts to avoid war were ineffectual, I did not deem it expedient to desert my section, and abandon my home and kindred, and thereafter cooperated in good faith with my section, until war decided the contest; since which I have ardently sought to soothe sectional animosity and restore the government to its old status. I regard the actions of Congress since the war with positive abhorrence. After these preliminaries I reach my point.

Our abominable Convention assembles on the 14th inst. The State of our Treasury would enable us, without exhaustion, to meet the reasonable expenses of this Revolutionary assemblage. It is probable that Genl Canby will require (with the sanction of the Convention) that these expenses be paid out of the State Treasury. The Treasr, by the laws of the State, can pay only on the warrant of the Govr. The Govr. can give a warrant only in conformity with the laws of the State. The legislation of Congress, as I understand it, (even if Constitutional) does not warrant the military Comt to make such order. With the lights now before me, I will not obey such mandate, if issued. Such order, if issued, may be directed, as I infer from news-paper accounts, it was directed, in your State, to the Treasr—overlooking the Govr. In this case it would not be material to me, as Governor. The responsibility would rest on the Treasr.

Our military comt. is, *con amore*, a Radical. He believes, as he has assured me that the laws he is appointed to execute, are not only constitutional, but wise. He considers these laws as investing him with unlimited despotic

power over the laws and Constitution of this State. Sickles maintained these views as a partizan and politician. Canby maintains them as a narrow minded conscientious Radical—Both have issued edict after edict, until they have made a new code for us,—destroying the respectability of trial by jury,—forcing the most manly of our judges to resign rather than be the instruments of executing their code: have established new tribunals of justice, held by men having no pretensions to law learning, with jurisdiction in many counties extending to every thing civil and criminal, save murder, manslaughter, Rape and Arson,—and where this Court has not been established, authorising arrests by military detectives—and the imprisonment in distant military fortresses, of civilians, without preliminary trial; and trial by Court martial without colorable pretext that justice is not impartially administered by our Courts: the removal of innumerable officers, assigning no cause for such removals—and filling these places with men not only intrinsically unworthy —but excessively odious to the communities in which they are to act, etc.

I foresee, if the Prest. shall not remove Canby, it is not unlikely I shall be removed. I have not deemed it expedient to make any public official announcement of my utter detestation of the whole Congressional programme—but it is well known that I should have voted, if not disfranchised, against the call of this Convention, and that I would not vote to ratify the action (whatever it may be) of what I regard as an unconstitutional—revolutionary convention.

How stands this matter now, as to paying your Convention between the Convention and your Treasr. and yourself? How happens it that Pope did not remove your Treasr. and you for not obeying the mandate issued by him and the Convention requiring you to pay?

Any information you may find it convenient and agreeable to you to give me touching this paying of the Conven-

tion, which I foresee is soon to be upon us, will be thankfully received.

MILLEDGEVILLE, GA.

To W. G. Moore.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 4 1868.*

I enclose new edict of Genl. Canby No. 164 which appeared in the news-papers yesterday. The simple reading of it will satisfy you that it would be a relief to our civil authorities if the General would blot out all semblance of civil rule, providing he would find other agents to carry out the new mandates he is continually issuing abrogating our laws and creating new ones. Military government.

I heard from a reliable source that some weeks ago he removed the Shff. of Richmond County, as usual without assigning any cause, and appointed another: that the new appointee could neither give a bond—nor take the iron-clad oath: that he has been acting ever since without qualifying and without taking any oath of office: that a military agent was sent there to see if a man could be found fit to fill the office who could give bond and take oaths: that the agent reported to Col. Cogswell, Post Commander of the district in which Richmond is situated, that no such man could be found; but, recommending that the new appointee be allowed to go on performing the duties of Shff. without giving bond or qualifying: that his report was sent Genl. Canby, who has referred it to Col. Bomford, Post Commander in this City, the military posts having been recently changed whereby Richmond County is attached to this post: and that Col. Bomford has the subject under consideration and is greatly perplexed—One of the expedients being suggested to him, being the appointment of a Sergeant from the army to go to Richmond County and act as Shff. thereof: I learn that the Colonel, Bomford, has not yet decided whether to

adopt this expedient or not. If Canby be continued in command the State government will be in a positive state of chaos; and already every civil officer is bewildered by the innumerable innovations and partial recovations of previous military edicts. The code military is not consolidated in any volume, but our civil officers and people are expected to understand and obey and preserve them. None of our news-papers being authorised or paid to publish them save the *Standard* and *Pioneer*, two ultra Radical Journals, which are warmed into life by money paid them from the National Treasury, to traduce us and nurture Radicalism.

I cut from a news-paper edict No. 164 and inclose it.

I dare not indulge in commentary on it.

All of it is unnecessary. Even his display of beneficence to the poor in diverting the money arising from licenses to the retailers, from the fund set apart for the support of common schools. The wreck of this fund consists of $600,000. in one of our best Rail Roads –and above $300,000. ante-bellum State bonds. Since the war our legislation has looked to building up this fund and more than $100,000. have been added to it. The tax on Retailers' licenses have been set apart since 1825 in aid of our School fund. He never consults me as to any of his edicts remodeling our laws. I think from the ill success of all my remonstrances, that to continue them would be as useless—as it would be undignified.

The proposed relief to debtors for the purchase of negroes, almost universally enures to the benefit of the negro speculators and to the injury of widows and orphans.

The regulation as to bail operates only to let adventurers who have come among us and abused the credulity of our people by contracting debts run away without paying. I have never heard of any honest man being beset to give bail.

His paragraph headed "Executors and Trustees" is absurd as applied to this State. We never had any law

authorising guardians, executors etc to invest in Confederate bonds. Under an old Statute, passed some 20 years ago, they were authorised to invest in State bonds, and all our bonds issued to carry on the war were repudiated by our Convention of 1865.

His chapter "District Courts" is wholly unnecessary. I have power and am continually exercising it, of appointing Courts of Oyer and Terminer, to try criminals and extra terms, where necessary. Our Courts of Quarter Session having concurrent jurisdiction with our Supr Courts, as to petty offences, sit every three months. Six regular terms are held in every county each year. Special terms to save costs by trying petty offenders would cost more than they would save. Our laws provide that each county pay the costs not paid by defendants, for the prosecution of offenders:—and county revenue is provided for the purpose. He charges the expense of these special terms to be paid out of the *State* Treasury, not supplied with funds for this purpose.

His pilotage order is issued to reverse a decision of our Courts.

His section 6, if carried out, will *essentially* affect the amount of Revenue to be collected this year. Our laws require the owner of lands to list for taxation (poll tax) and pay for all persons liable to pay such tax, who are in their employment on the 1 Apl each year. The owner of the land is allowed to retain enough, (out of the wages of such employees), to indemnify himself. In this way migratory persons are listed, who would otherwise evade listing, and a large amount of taxes are collected from persons from whom nothing could be had by distress. It operates alike on white and black. Under this edict almost nothing will be made from men (white and black) who work for wages. Its operation will be to save from the payment of any tax *nearly all* the negroes and *many* white man.

With this brief commentary I dismiss the subject.

Our Convention is called to meet on the 14th inst. I suppose the General will require me to issue my warrants on the Treas to pay the expenses of the Convention. This I will not do, unless I can see some new light on the subject.

I write this expecting you to bring it to the attention of the President.

I am still indisposed, (but improving), and my hand is so tremulous I fear you will be at some trouble to read what I have written.

Washington, D. C.

To Thomas J. Wilson.

Raleigh *Jan. 4 1868.*

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

I am greatly annoyed by the uncertainty in which I am left, as to the acceptance or non-acceptance of our friend Poindexter of the appointment of Judge. I do not know his postoffice. I have twice written you to ascertain and report to me whether he would accept or not —in the latter letter written by my secy., inclosing to him his commission. I have recd. no answer. Should he decline, it is hardly probable now to get together my Council and act in time for his Circuit. What is the matter?

Winston.

To Thomas S. Ashe.

Jan. 6 1868.

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

I am today notified by Mr. Poindexter that he declines the acceptance of our nomination, for the reason, among others, that he cannot conscientiously take the teste oath.

I am in doubt whether I ought again to put the members of the Council of State to the inconvenience of assembling here. I know of no one having any just pre-

tensions to be a judge, who would accept the appointment under the existing circumstances. I suppose, if we make no nomination, some sergeant or other officer of the U. S. army, or some worse man who is a citizen of the State, will be appointed.

Will you favor me with your personal opinion whether I ought again to assemble the Council, or to report that I can make no recommendation fit to fill the position, who will accept and take the required oaths, thus throwing the responsibility exclusively on the military Court? Will you do me the favor to respond promptly.

WADESBORO.

To W. A. Wright.

RALEIGH *Jan 6 1868.*

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

I am this day in receipt of a letter from Mr. Poindexter, declining to accept the appointment of judge, the reasons among others, that he cannot take the teste oath.

Before incurring the expense and subjecting the Council to the inconvenience of assembling here, I request that you ascertain *definitely* from Mr. Baker whether he would accept the appointment.

If he will not I incline to the opinion that we had better, limited as we are, throw the whole responsibility on Genl. Canby.

Give me your views on this. It is important to have your answer as soon as possible.

WILMINGTON.

To R. H. Cowan.[1]

Raleigh *Jan 6 1868.*

Some five or six weeks ago, Genl Canby sent me for my remarks, an appeal by certain clients of Vance and Dowd (names not now remembered) praying for military interposition to compel your Road to pay them for work done for you since the war (building bridges, I believe) for which they had obtained judgments against your Company, but which could not be enforced on account of the mortgage which the State holds on your Road and all its effects.

This appeal represented the appellants as poor men who had re-built certain bridges, destroyed in the latter part of the war, or carried off by other casualty, under a special promise by persons making the contract in behalf of your Company, that the work should be promptly paid for on its completion: but that the work being done your Company sheltered itself from payment under said mortgage. The case as presented by the appellants and the arguments of their counsel, exhibited wanton bad faith on the part of the subordinate authorities of your Company.

As I knew nothing of the facts, save what appeared from this ex-parte showing, I replied that no action ought to be taken against your Company until you were heard: that these parties must be presumed to have known of the existence of the mortgage and that the State ought not to be deprived of the benefit of the mortgage, even if the officers of the Company were guilty of the bad faith imputed to them—and wound up promising to investigate the matter.

I soon afterwards saw Gov. Vance who told me he had made an appeal to you, as prest. of the Road, in behalf of his clients—and that you had ordered the payment of

[1] President of the Wilmington, Charlotte and Rutherford Railroad.

his clients' claims: but that your subordinate (Mr. Guion I believe) obstinately disregarded your order.

I was going to Washington a day or two after, and designed seeing you on the subject, but on my arrival there, on inquiry, found you were gone to New York. The matter, thus postponed, went out of memory until my attention was recalled to it by a late letter from Genl Canby.

I request that you give immediate attention to the matter and favor me with an answer as soon as you can: if the memorialists state the facts truly, that you take care that they be paid without delay.

Wilmington.

To D. F. Caldwell, R. P. McLean and R. Gorrell.

Raleigh, *Jan. 6th 1868.*

When I was informed of the arrest of the Shff. of Cas- Military arrests.
well upon information furnished by Tourgee and Johnson, and his transportation to Charleston to be tried before a Court martial, having made to Genl. Sickles and Canby ineffectual remonstrances against such arrests and trials, I addressed the Prest on the subject and characterised Tourgee and Johnson, as men of "most destable character" in this State. My letter was referred to Genl. Grant and by him sent to Genl. Canby for his remarks. Canby sent me a partial copy of a little volume which he wrote to Genl. Grant, in which he says that my account of the character of Capt. Tourgee is "not accepted". In my reply I stand by my assertion. This affair is likely to culminate, I think, in the removal of myself or Canby. I have the most emphatic assurances of the Prest that he will sustain me. I am certain that all the power of the ultra Radicals will be employed to bring about my removal—and I know nobody in stronger sympathy with the ultra Radicals than Canby. I am certain Canby will remove me if not restrained by apprehension of his own removal, if he do so.

To-night I have recd from Genl. Canby a letter in which he says "Mr. A. H.[1] Tourgee has been nominated to fill a vacancy in Civil Office in N. C. and would have received immediate appointment but for the charges affecting his moral character made against him by you in your official communication of the 30th Nov. 1867."

With a view to the investigation of such charges I desire you to furnish me with the names and address of all parties from whom you derived the information upon which your charge was based. And also a statement of any matters within your knowledge that may be important to such inquiry.

It is of great interest to the public that men of established character should fill the public offices, and of no less importance to the nominee that an opportunity should be offered him to vindicate his character from public charges which, if true, disqualify him from holding office."

Now I am sure I have heard more than 100 men speak of Tourgee all representing him as a man of "most detestable character" and I never heard one speak well of him —but I can designate only a few of them. All I can now remember are two of you, Messrs. McLean and Caldwell; B. S. Hedrick, Hiram Worth and Jesse Wheeler— and I *believe* the two Messrs Gilmers and Peter Adams. Will you see these gentlemen and ascertain of them whether they remember to have spoken to me in disparagment of the general character of Tourgee. Will you also give me the names of other good men who will say, if called upon that he is not generally regarded as a man of good character for truth and honor. I would prefer, if not objectionable, to have the signatures of a number of your prominent citizens to a certificate of this sort—

Being requested by Govr. Worth to state whether we know the general character of A. H. Tourgee among the most respectable and intelligent citizens of Guilford

[1] This is an error. A. W. Tourgee is intended.

County, as to truth and honor, we answer that we do know his general character among these classes and that it is bad. Jan. 7 1868.

Poindexter refuses to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Fowle. I presume this is the vacancy Tourgee seeks to fill. I beg you to answer *very promptly.*

[P. S.] What does Major Worth think of Tourgee.

To William Eaton.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 6 1868.*

I am this day notified by Mr. Poindexter that he cannot accept the appointment of Judge. He cannot conscientiously take the test oath. Concerning the appointment of a Judge.

I know no one having any respectable pretensions to fill the place, who will accept. In the present aspect of affairs would not acceptance itself be strong evidence of unworthiness.

Will you favor me with your personal advice and opinion whether I ought to subject the Council of State to the inconvenience and the State to the expense of again convening the Council? Limited as we are will it not be best to throw the responsibility on the military comt.?

WARRENTON.

To John Kerr.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 6 1868.*

On recpt. of your letter touching the arrest of Mr. Griffin, having made divers ineffectual remonstrances to Genl. Canby against such arrests, I wrote the Prest. (a copy of which I inclosed to you on the 1st inst) in which I speak in strong terms of the "detestable character" of Tourgee. I am this evening in receipt of a letter from Genl. Canby in which he says "Mr. A. H. Tourgee has been nominated to fill a vacancy in civil office in N. C., Military arrests

and would have recd immediate appointment but for the charges affecting his moral character made against him by you in your communication of the 30th Nov. 1867.

"With a view to the investigation of such charges I desire you to furnish me with the names and addresses of all parties from whom you derived the information upon which your charge was based: and also a statement of any matter within your knowledge that may be of importance to such inquiry."

"It is of great interest to the public that men of unblemished character should fill the public offices, and of no less importance to the nominee that an opportunity should be afforded him to vindicate his character from public charges, which, if true disqualify him from holding office".

I have made no specific [*charges?*] against him save for his lying speech at the Convention of Sept. last in Phila. but I have stated that his general character is very detestable in this State.

Can you promptly furnish me the names of some prominent men in your County who will sustain me in this general allegation against his character?

Poindexter declines to accept the appointment to fill vacancy occasioned by the resignation of judge Fowle. I have no doubt this is the vacancy Tourgee seeks to fill.

All I have heard of the man has led to regard him with positive abhorrence.

Yanceyville.

To Jesse G. Shepherd.

Raleigh *Jan. 7/68.*

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

Poindexter refuses to fill vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Fowle.

I am in doubt whether it is expedient for me to reassemble my council to make another nomination,—From

the material to which I am limited I know no one I can nominate having any just pretensions to be made a judge. I incline to the opinion that I ought to decline to act and throw the whole responsibility where the act of Congress places it, on the military despot who is appointed to rule us. The result of this will be the nomination of some mean Northern adventurer. I have cogent reasons to believe that A. H. Tourgee, the very meanest of this class, is applying to Genl. Canby for the appointment, and that the General would have nominated him but for the terms of loathing in which I have lately referred to him in an official correspondence with Genl. Canby and the Prest. of the U. S. I am now officially called upon by Genl. Canby to sustain myself, by *naming the persons whom I have heard speak in disparagement of Tourgee.* He says Tourgee has applied and would have been appointed to fill a vacant civil office in N. C. but for my assault on his character in an official letter, in which I say his character is "detestable in this State". I am much indisposed —forced to do more than I am physicially able to perform —cannot go further into details—With all the lights now before you do you think I should again assemble my council and recommend some boy or superannuated lawyer for a judge, if I can find even one of these who will take the required oaths? or should I say to Genl. C, that I decline again to call the council together because I can hear of no one having any just pretensions to fitness who will take the oaths—and that I therefore decline to re-convene the Council and leave him to fill the vacancy without any recommendation on our part?

Fayetteville.

To Henry Joyner.

Raleigh, *Jan. 7th 1868.*

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

I made diligent inquiry before the last meeting of the Council to get the name of some respectable lawyer, old or young, who would consent to take the oaths and fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Fowle. We nominated Genl. Poindexter in the hope that he would accept. He was strongly recommended by prominent lawyers in his neighborhood. I had written immediately on receipt of his recommendation to ascertain whether he would accept and got no answer. I recd a letter from him yesterday declining to accept. If we make no recommendation, some mean Yankee adventurer who has come among us to traduce us and get office, will probably be appointed. If we recommend we can recommend no one at all fit to be a judge, who will take the oaths. Under all the circumstances do you think I should again assemble the Council—or should I say to Genl Canby, limited as we are, that we decline to recommend an unfit man, and let him designate a successor for Judge Fowle?

I have reason to believe that one Tourgee, who claims to have been a Capt. in the U. S. army and who settled in Guilford, after the war, and whom I regard as the very meanest of this class who has settled among us, seeks the office, and is a man who exactly fills Genl. Canby's notion of fitness for the position. I write to each councilor for his advice whether I ought again to convene the Council. What is your opinion?

Halifax, C. H.

To Giles Mebane.

Raleigh *Jan. 7 1868.*

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

Genl. Poindexter notified me yesterday that he could not take the teste oath, consequently declining to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Fowle.

Genl. Canby wrote me, asking that I convene the Council and recommend to him for appointment as successor to Judge Fowle. After diligent inquiry I can hear of no lawyer in the State, having respectable pretensions to fitness, whom I can recommend. If we recommend nobody some one of the meanest Yankee adventurers, who has settled among us will probably be appointed. We cannot recommend, so far as I know, any fit man who will take the oaths. I ask to-day the opinion of each of the Councilors, whether it is expedient that I re-convene the Council for this purpose—or shall I say that, limited as we are to the range of selection, we respectfully decline to act further on the matter?

I have strong reason to believe that Tourgee has applied for the appointment—that he is a man who exactly fills Genl. Canby's ideas of fitness for the position: and that the General's action is suspended upon the result of an inquiry into the truthfulness of an official allegation of mine to Gen. Canby, made in the case of Griffin—that Tourgee is a man of most *"detestable character"* in this State. I am officially called upon by Genl. Canby to furnish him the *names* of the persons whom I have heard speak ill of Tourgee—and their *several post-offices.* If I shall furnish a few, as I can, how many of them will shirk or buck out from apprehension of oppression? thus leaving me with the bag to hold. If I fail to furnish any Tourgee is triumphant—and where am I. I take a day or two to arm myself for the onslaught. If everything else fail me I shall at all events be shielded by the consciousness of right.

Please answer promptly.

To E. A. Jones.

Raleigh *Jan 7th 1868.*

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

Poindexter by letter which reached me yesterday says that he cannot accept the office of judge, for the reason, among others, that he can't take the iron-clad oath.

If I re-assemble my Council, with present lights, I cannot recommend any body having any just pretensions to fill the place. If we recommend any body, it must be some one manifestly unfit. Will it not be better to throw the entire responsibility on the military comt? If we recommend any body it must be a super-annuated lawyer or some boy who has not tarried long enough in Jericho for his beard to grow.

I have good reason to believe that Tourgee, the meanest Yankee who has ever settled among us, has applied to Genl. Canby for the appointment, and that he would already have been appointed but for the fact that I recently said of him, in a letter to Genl Canby, that he is a man of most "detestable character." This is made the occasion, in effect, of an attack on me. Genl. Canby calls on me to defend my assertion by *naming the persons and address* of any person whom I have heard speak in disparagement of Captain Tourgee. There is great congeniality of temper and sentiment between the General and Tourgee. I am thrown on the defensive. Matters must soon culminate in my removal or his.

Please favor me with your opinion as promptly as possible, whether I re-assemble the Council of State.

Patterson.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Raleigh *Jan. 8/68.*

Canby's course as military governor.

The course of Genl. Canby has shown in his government of this State, that he despised the axiom that the Governor

should have respect to the will of the governed. He has not put his foot on our soil. He has not communicated to me, as Governor of N. C. elected by the choice of her people, without electioneering on my part, any of his contemplated changes in our code:—in his numerous removals of civil officers the first notice I have had has been his bulletin of removal. He has not consulted me in a single instance as to the fitness or respectability of his new appointees. This contempt of the popular will could not have sprung from any apprehensions of my loyalty, in the just sense of the much abused word. As our ruler he was bound to have made himself acquainted with my antecedents, personal and political. He could have found nothing in them to warrant the contempt exhibited by all his official acts.

No man having any pretensions to be regarded as a gentleman, whether citizen or army officer stationed among us, has ever presumed to impute to our judges want of personal character, legal learning or impartiality in the administration of Justice.

After a series of acts exhibiting a total disregard of our laws and of our Courts, against which I had remonstrated in vain, I learned some weeks ago, that he had caused the arrest of the Sheriff of Caswell, one of the best men in the State,—a Union man—and consequently not a Radical,—upon the evidence of a convicted felon, one Wm. Johnson, (whom I had been induced to pardon by the false compassions of our people and the importunities of the military power appointed to rule us) and upon the evidence of *A. H. Tourgee*, a disbanded Captain of [*A line is missing here*] as Genl. Canby says,—I say, on this evidence, as I was informed, the Shff. of Caswell, a County on the Northern boundary of N. C. was seized under the orders of Genl. Canby, without preliminary trial and transported for trial before a Court martial in Charleston for an alleged offence of which our Courts have cognizance. Worn out by the contempt uniformly exhibited by Genl.

Canby, towards the judiciary of the State, I addressed a letter to the President in which I characterise these informers as most "detestable men" to the people of this State. The President referred my letter to Genl. Grant who referred it to Genl. Canby. Genl. Canby makes a voluminous reply to Genl. Grant, a *partial* copy of which he sends to me, impugning the integrity of the legislative and judicial authorities of the State—and says my account of the character of Tourgee "is not accepted": assigning as a reason why it was not *"accepted"* that Tourgee was [*A line is missing here*].

I have just recd from Genl. Canby a letter in which he says

"A. H. Tourgee has been nominated to fill a vacancy in civil office in N. C.: and would have recd immediate appointment but for the charges affecting his moral character made against him by you in an official communication of Nov. 30th 1867.

With a view to the investigation of such charges I desire you to furnish me with the names and addresses of all parties from whom you derived the information upon which your charge was based: and also a statement of any matters within your knowledge that may be of importance to such inquiry.

It is of great interest to the public that men of unblemished character should fill the public offices—and of no less importance to the nominee that an opportunity should be afforded him to vindicate his character from public charges, which, if true, disqualifies him from holding office."

The following is what I wrote to the Genl. on the 30th Nov. touching Tourgee.

"As to my allegation that Tourgee and Johnson were men of bad character, I can only say that I have heard many men, some of them United States' officers of estimable character, and I have never heard any one speak well of them. I believe the character of each of them, in this State, to be very bad among virtuous men".

Now Genl. C. knows that I could not give *the names and addresses of all* whom I had heard thus speak. I can give many of them—Among the U. S. officers I can name are H. H. Helper, Jesse Wheeler, Hiram Worth and yourself.

I have no doubt that Genl. Canby, through representations by Tourgee, and such as he, intends to find a pretext for my early removal—and the filling of my place with an ultra Radical. I shall feel no *personal* grief at such removal—but I owe it to the people of North Carolina to frustrate this design by all legitimate means.

I have been confined to my fireside by indisposition since my return from Washington: have been slowly improving: am now nearly well but it would be the extreme of imprudence for me to go to Washington to ask of the President the protection of which he may deem me deserving so far as he may be able and willing to protect me.

I have no doubt the vacant office Tourgee seeks to fill is the judgeship made vacant by the resignation of Fowle on account of his conscientious unwillingness to obey military edicts in conflict with our laws.

Now you know the utter disgust all the respectable people of this State would feel at putting on our bench of judges such a wretch as Tourgee who stinks in the nostrils of all men of honor.

Now my purpose is to ask you to see the President—make known to him the contents of this letter—and if he desire it, to put it in his possession to be used as he may think proper—and to tell him what you know as to the standing of Tourgee in N. C.

It can scarcely be that one whose whole course here has exhibited such malignant baseness, can have a good character wherever he comes. Can you not find some agency by which I can be correctly informed of Tourgee's standing in the neighborhood whence he came?

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To General Canby.

RALEIGH *Jan. 9/68.*

In opposition to the appointment of A. W. Tourgee as a judge.

Yours of the 4th inst. is before me in which you say "A. W. Tourgee has been nominated to fill a vacancy in Civil office in North Carolina, and would have recd immediate appointment but for the charges affecting his moral character made against him by you in your official communication of Nov. 30 1867.

With a view to the investigation of such charges I desire you to furnish me with the names and addresses of all parties from whom you derived the information upon which your charge is based—and also a statement of any matters within your knowledge that may be of importance to such inquiry."

I regard this as a most extraordinary request. The character of General Washington is very good—that of Genl Arnold very bad. I am *sure* of this; and yet I not only could not *give the names and addresses of all* I have heard say so, but I am not sure I could give the name and address of *one* of them. I happen in this case to remember a few. I name B. S. Hedrick, holding a prominent position in the U. S. Patent Office, Washington, D. C., H. H. Helper, U. S. Assessor, Salisbury, N. C.
Jesse Wheeler, U. S. Assessor, Greensboro, N. C.
Hiram Worth, U. S. Comr. " "
Hon. J. R. McLean, " "
Hon. J. A. Gilmer, " "
Hon. Jno. Kerr, Yanceyville, N. C.

In addition to the above gentlemen who I can remember to have heard speak in strong terms of disparagement of Tourgee, I have been informed and believe that the following gentlemen know his character well and that they will fully confirm what I have said of him.

Thos B. Keogh, Register in Bankruptcy,	Greensboro,	N. C.
Jno. Crane, Collector Int. Revenue	"	"
Ralph Gorrell,	"	"
Jesse H. Lindsay,	"	"
Jed. H. Lindsay,	"	"
Jas. Sloan,	"	"
W. L. Scott,	"	"
Levi M. Scott,	"	"
David F. Caldwell,	"	"
Hon. Jas. T. Morehead,	"	"
Nathan Hiatt,	"	"
Jonathan Cox,	"	"
Jonathan Harris,	"	"
Cyrus P. Mendenhall,	"	"
Robt. P. Dick,	"	"
Nereus Mendenhall,	"	"
Hon. Bedford Brown,	Yanceyville,	"
Samuel P. Hill,	"	"
Wm. Long,	"	"
Thos. Trotter,	"	"
Hon. Jas. M. Leach,	Lexington,	"
D. H. Starbuck, U. S. District Atto.,	Salem,	"
Thos. J. Wilson,	Winston,	"

I also refer you to the record of certain suits in Guilford County Court, at Feb. Term, 1867, or about that time., Cyrus P. Mendenhall vs. Tourgee and certain *Ca. Sa.* cases in which freedmen were plaintiffs and Tourgee was defendant. I have not the names of the plaintiffs. The Clerk of the County Court of Guilford can if you wish them.

Major Worth, 8th U. S. Infantry,	Raleigh,	N. C.
A. B. Chapin, Surgeon of U. S.,	"	"
Thos. Burly, freedman,	Greensboro,	N. C.

You do not indicate to what vacant civil office Tourgee would have been immediately appointed but for my charges against him; and therefore I am not called upon to speak of his fitness, in other respects than moral char-

acter, to fill such office. I hear, from sources to which I give credit, that he seeks to be placed by yr. appointment, on the bench of judges of our Supr. Courts of law, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Fowle. I think he has neither practised law nor obtained a license to practise in this State. As your communication does not ask for any information as to his fitness, and as you have not hitherto deemed it expedient to ask my views as to the suitableness of any one of your numerous appointees to civil office in this State, I am not unconscious that any suggestion from me in this direction may be deemed obtrusive:—but duty to those who placed me in the position I occupy constrains me to say, that I entertain no doubt that few men can be found, mentally and morally less unfit to fill such a position. In fact if I were called upon to name one for judge particularly unfit for the position and disgusting to the bar and virtuous intelligence of the State I should regard the name of A. W. Tourgee as most fit.

You ask me for a statement of any matters within my knowledge that may be of importance to the inquiry.

I do not know Tourgee personally—but I know he was appointed at a rural meeting in Guilford, a delegate to the political Convention held in Phila in Sept 1866. He had settled in that County soon after the close of the war, having been, he said, a Capt. in a company of Ohio Vols. He was reported in the N. Y. *Herald* as having made a speech in that Convention to enlighten the North as to the character and temper of the people among whom he had settled. I quote from that speech as follows—

Speaking of "loyal men who have worn the blue uniforms," he said, "I come here to say that selling every thing they had at a nominal value, twelve hundred of these loyal men have been driven from the State. I know hundred of these loyal men who were threatened with death if they wore the blue, and they are now wearing the gray." and "I was told by a Quaker in North Carolina as I was coming here that he had seen the bodies of fifteen mur-

dered negroes taken from a pond. Seven hundred loyal men had petitioned President Johnson for redress from the rebel depredations, and the petition was referred back to the disloyal Governor of that State and came back to the authorities of their own town."

I *believe,* and the respectable people of the State believe every statement in the foregoing quotation, was a malicious falsehood, made to engender and inflame the animosity of the Northern people against us: and I *know* the last statement was false. The President had referred but two petitions to me:—the one from some forty men in Camden County—representing that they had been Union soldiers; and that they were cruelly persecuted by indictments in the Courts of their County for acts done as Union soldiers. I requested D. D. Ferebee of Camden, then a member of the State Convention, and Hon. Geo. W. Brooks, judge of the District Court of the U. S., and also a member of the State Convention, residing in the neighborhood of the petitioners, to investigate their allegations. They reported that they had examined the records of the Court, and that there were only two indictments against any one of them—the one for *retailing liquor* without a license; the other for *Fornication and Adultery.*

The other was a petition from Clay County, imputing oppression to one of the Courts in a prosecution for an offence of which one had been found guilty, which proved to be an equally groundless complaint, as all like complaints honestly investigated will turn out to be. The Secty of State though proper to write me a note complementing me for the manifest fairness with which these inquiries were conducted.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

To Dr. G. D. Poulson.

Raleigh, *Jan. 10, 1868.*

Of the wreck of my estate which the late unfortunate war left me, a considerable part is invested in our co-partnership—but the harassing cares of my public position leave me no time to devote to my personal concerns. I hear from Mr. Wiley and Mr. Coffin very favorable accounts as to your management and success—but more frequent letters from you touching the matter would be more acceptable. The absence of such letters makes me feel uneasiness. Did you get the spts turp. you asked me to have sent you? I took measures to have it sent. How turns out your purchase of the Aurora gas light? Have you found the note we gave for a balance on this purchase? What have been your monthly sales anything else tending to show the good or ill success of our enterprise. I think you should keep me more fully informed as to our business.

Salisbury.

To W. A. Graham.

Raleigh, *Jan. 10, 1868.*

Military government

The frequent and wantonly absurd orders of Genl. Canby are greatly multiplying my cares and perplexities, and are likely, as I believe, to culminate in an order for my removal.

Major Bagley informed me that he learned from you on the cars yesterday, that you would be several days in Washington, and that a letter from me to you, to care of Hon. Reverdy Johnson would reach you. I was much gratified to learn this. I have been much indisposed lately—am now nearly well, I believe, but am required by my physician to remain at my fireside for some days yet. I am unable to go to Washington however great the emergency.

I desire to have your opinion in the event of an order for my removal, (whether coming from Canby or the Convention), whether I cannot, by refusal to obey the mandate, or surrendering the office on the ground of military duress, by Writ of Habeas Corpus,—or a Writ of Mandamus, have the validity of such act of removal tested before the Supreme Court of the U. S.—And if you think this feasible and expedient, exact instructions as to the proper course for me to pursue: to what judge should I in the first instance apply? I would like to have you, if you deem it expedient, get the views of Reverdy Johnston or any other constitutional lawyer you prefer. I am willing to pay a suitable fee to you or him or both. Under an act of the last Genl. Assembly I am authorised, when I deem it necessary, to employ counsel in any case effecting the rights of the State, and to pay by drft on the Pub. Tr. As I could not so draw after removal it would be best to draw in anticipation: and if nothing should be done;—if the removal should not be attempted to refund it.

When I saw the Prest. about a month ago and gave him a narrative of Canby's action in the Spears case from Buncombe; his orders touching juries; his Provost Court in Fayetteville; his numerous removals of civil officers; assigning no reasons for such removals, and not in a single instance consulting with me as to the fitness of successors appointed by him;—the wanton detail in prison and trial of Mr. McRae—the seizing of Griffith and carrying him to Charleston and his trial before a Court martial upon the evidence of the two villians Tourgee and Johnson;—and the virtual discharge of the Granville negro, convicted of a wanton rape upon a woman of good character by himself and another negro—first one and then the other, in the presence of her little daughter, old enough to be a witness—and the verdict confirmed by a Court martial, the villain Avery, being Judge Advocate, and the case of the removal of the Shff. of Jones and the swearing in of the insolvent Yankees, without a bond worth a straw—the

Prest. exhibited disgust and indignation. He expressed astonishment that these things had not been published. I explained to him that the most of the facts could only be reached through my official correspondence with Sickles and Canby, and that I did not doubt that the publication would be followed by my immediate removal. He requested me to remain a day or two and to see him again. At the next interview he said the publication of the facts I had disclosed would have much influence on the public mind North, now awakening to a sense of right. He requested me to come home and give him in writing the narrative I had made to him: and that he would have it published—and that if Canby removed me he would remove him. I prepared it as soon as I could, being sick all the time. It took much labor to make it full and clear—and much copying of extracts to sustain its facts. It was sent him 10 days ago—and to prevent its falling into Grant's hands—as my letter to the Prest. had, touching the arrest of Griffith, I sent it to Col. W. G. Moore the President's private Secty. He was out of the City and only got it last Sunday.

I still thought and so wrote the Prest, that Canby ought to be removed, and *then* the publication made; because if he removed me, though the Prest. would immediately remove Canby and give us a sensible commt., such comt. could not re-instate me, because I could not take the teste oath. I doubt whether the Prest., in the midst of grave cares, will not be deterred from reading it. There are some 30 pages of it and the extracts besides. If you have leisure I wish you would get it and read it and then confer with the Prest. about it.

I would not have you or he think that I have great *personal* solicitude as to my removal—but I dread public censure if a Radical fire-eating Govr. be appointed in consequence of any supposed imprudence on my part. I am perfectly willing, if you and the Prest. think it expedient, that the publication should be made, to retire from my

harrassing position if you think the public good require it.

I inclose you a copy of a letter from Canby and my reply, touching Tourgee. It will serve to show you what a fool Canby is—as well as his animus towards me and the people of N. C.

P. S. I regard it as positively necessary that you, to whom N. C. looks more than to any other man, as a guide, should read this narrative made by me to the chief magistrate of the State. You will find Col. Moore, to be an urbane gentlemanly man, as all men are, who like himself belonged to the old constitutional Union Clay party.

If that narrative shall be deemed unduly prolix (I do not think it was capable of much more condensation) it will be remembered it was made out when I was sick and continually interrupted by the harrassing cares of my office in our present anomalous condition.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To J. B. Whitaker.

RALEIGH. *Jan. 12th 1868.*

Personal.

I see in yr. paper of yesterday Genl. Canby's special order No. 1 dated Jan. 2/68. State police force.

The striking point of this order is the organization of our armed police forces in which negroes are to be the more numerous element. White and black to work together.

An article appeared in the *Sentinel* immediately after the publication of this order, giving a sketch of the four Shffs. who are to organize and employ this force. I have not observed that you have re-published any part of this *Sentinel* article. As I presume you have an important circulation in the four counties which this order affects—as has the Newbern *Commercial* which has neither commented on the *Sentinel,* nor made editorial save to praise

the successor of Harper. I infer that you do not concur in the facts or the reasoning of the *Sentinel.*

The North has not required negroes and white men to act together in the same companies. I have been surprised at the publication of this order without editorial comment on the remarks of the *Sentinel.* Have you refrained because you have doubts as to the accuracy of the facts stated in reference to the removal of the old Shff in Jones, which are astonishing and interesting to the whole country? This Editorial in the *Sentinel* has attracted much attention in other parts of the State. The Wilmington *Journal* has republished all of it—or nearly all of it. Why have the two Journals near the scene, neglected to publish these articles? Are the facts inaccurately stated? The case of the appt. of Colgrove without bond or security to fill Wilson's place, with powers to collect arrearages of tax due Wilson, is the climax of absurdity and mean oppression. If the facts stated are incorrectly set forth, a true version should be given. I write this simply to call your attention to the matter.

GOLDSBORO.

To W. T. Faircloth.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 13/68.*

Will you give me yr. views on inclosed petition? Upon the ex-parte representation of the petitioner, I incline to shorten his imprisonment and let him go home and provide board for his numerous family—but shall refer to your judgment—you knowing all the circumstances which should control my action. I would consult the judge if I knew where to address him.

GOLDSBORO.

To Calvin H. Wiley.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 14/68.*

Sale of the swamp lands.

Protracted illness and the pressure of duties of the utmost gravity, have entirely overtaxed my powers for the last month.

I regret to say that among the things postponed is yr. communication and acct. neither of which has been examined.

My health is gradually improving but I am still much indisposed.

You will remember with how much reluctance I approved the acct of expenses of Comrs. to N. Y. touching our Swamp lands, which I regarded as very extravagant. They amounted to more than $900. From respect to the feelings of the members of the board, I concluded to approve it, with misgivings as to the propriety of such approval. The acct exhibited, drawn up by Genl. Gwynn, purported to cover *all* the expenses of the commission. Your part of the bill, as I remember it, exceeds $400. To my great amazement. Mr. Best now exhibits a further account exceeding $200. including more money for *parlor rent.* I am not less annoyed than pained at this account and the responsibilities which the extravagance of the whole bill devolves on me. I have deferred action on Mr. Best's claims until I see a specification of the items making up the amount paid to you and Genl Gwynn. It distresses me to feel constrained to ask for such items—but I have been employed on more commissions than one since our troubles commenced, quite as dignified and which did not approach in expenditure the expenses of your commission.

I hope it may be convenient to you to be here at some early day, (our continuance in authority is likely to be short) in order to confer with you and Mr. Husted to put these matters in shape to enable me to justify myself be-

fore the public for the warrants I have issued and am required to issue on the school fund.

GREENSBORO.

To Richmond M. Pearson.

Jan. 15, 1868.

I am feeling comparatively well to-day—but my physician has positively enjoined it on me not to leave my fireside for some days.

Besides the matter of appointing a Librarian, in which I am not anxious to participate, there are other matters of which I deem of much greater importance about which I very much desire to confer with you and your associate judges: and hence I requested yesterday a conference at my residence. If such conference be of any value to the public it should take place without delay. If it suit you I will send over a conveyance to bring you over at such hour after your adjournment to-day, as you will designate this forenoon to Major Bagley.

To W. B. Wright.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 16/68.*

* * * * * * *

Opinion of Congress.

Our public affairs are in a most appalling condition. The devils now claiming to be the Congress of the U. S. seem determined to leave no vestige of the wise and beneficent government under which we so long prospered and commanded the respect of the world. Not a man of them can elevate himself above the behests of mere partizanship. Actual physical resistance or submission to military despotism seems to be the only alternative offered to this great nation.

FAYETTEVILLE.

To Andrew Johnson.

Raleigh, *Jan. 16 1868.*

Having just learned that my friend Col. Wm. M. Johnson will be in Washington City to-morrow, allow me to ask the favor that you grant to him a brief interview—and that you communicate to him any information touching the present crisis in National affairs, which you may think it would be useful for me to know—particularly as to what you think of the expediency (if Genl Canby require it) that I cause the expenses of the Convention to be paid out of the State Treasury.

To Andrew Johnson.

Raleigh, *Jan. 16, 1868.*

Learning that my friends Genl. J. M. Leach and Dr. Wm. B. Mears are on their way to Washington City—and feeling profoundly the responsibility of my position in the present crisis of affairs I shall regard it as a personal favor, if you will accord to them a brief interview and give them the benefit of your views on such matters as may concern my action at this juncture—particularly as to the propriety and expediency, of my granting my warrant for the paying of the expenses of the Convention out of the State Treasury.

To David G. Worth.

Raleigh, *Jan. 17/68.*

Concerning his state of health.

I am feeling better to-day than I have done for weeks past— * * * I still stay at home under the doctor's orders. I have transgressed a little; on two or three pressing occasions, to my manifest injury. I have all the time dispatched more business at home than I could have

done at my office, and may not subject myself to the excessive annoyance at office which awaits me, whenever I fall into the old routine, for several days yet. I think there will be nothing in the odor of the Convention to quicken convalescence.

* * * * * * *

I know nothing as to the doings of the Devils claiming to be the Congress of the U. S. which the public journals do not disclose.

To B. G. Worth.

Raleigh, *Jan. 18/68.*

My health, I trust, is about re-established. By staying at home and submitting to a real siege of Doctoring I believe I am about cured of what I feared would prove chronic Diarrhoea.

* * * * * * *

Am philosophically awaiting the orders of Canby or Grant to retire from the governorship, which may come at any hour without occasioning surprise. The helm of the great Ship of State seems to be in the hands of a set of Devils and the great nation, with comparative quiet, assents to the pilotage of these devils. We are tied here hand and foot—The folly of our hotspurs rushed us into war—and the ignoble baseness of our conquerors delights to torture us, involving all in a common ruin.

If there be any sense in the great masses of the people, a proper rebuke to these devils and wretches they propose to use in executing their purposes will soon be administered. If not, civilization will surrender to anarchy.

To David Heaton.

Jan. 22, 1868.

Suggesting an interview.

Having entire confidence in yr. personal honor, whatever may be the difference in our views as to the prominent political questions of the day, it has occurred to me that a *confidential* interview between us might result in public good. I am so much indisposed that I cannot leave my fireside with the approval of my physician. If you can perceive no impropriety in it, as I cannot, I shall be gratified if you will call on me at my residence this evening or to-night, at such time as may suit you, to hear from me certain suggestions, confidentially, touching public affairs. I do not propose to have any friend present at such interview—but am willing and even prefer, that you bring with you Mr. Goodloe, in whose personal honor I have implicit confidence,—or any other political friend of yours for whom you are willing to vouch as a gentleman.

RALEIGH.

To David Heaton.

Jan. 23/68.

I regret that my indisposition forbids my leaving my fireside to-day—and hope that this will be deemed sufficient apology for troubling you by coming here on what *may* turn out to be of no benefit—but the interview is asked in perfect candor with some hope that public good may result from it.

Come over whenever it may be perfectly convenient to you—as I am confined at home and one hour is quite as convenient to me as another.

RALEIGH.

To George Makepeace.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 24/68.*

In the midst of my many cares (my health poor too) I am far from indifferent as to the prospects of my interest in Cedar Falls Co. I made the investment as a resource for declining years and may possible be thrown upon it as my chief resource at no distant day.

I have heard that you contemplate retiring from the management at an early day. If so, have you any one in view as a fit successor? What are the present prospects of the company. Can a dividend be made at once without unduly crippling the resources of the Company? Any information touching the present condition and the future prospects of the Company will be most thankfully received. Try to write me soon.

So heavy are the responsibilities of my situation (confined as I have been for weeks past to my fire-side by indisposition) that I cannot go into an exposition of my views of the political situation. My decapitation at an early day is not improbable—but my friends shall have no cause to blush at such event, if it occur.

I look for relief, at no distant day, from the action of the Supreme Court of the U. S.—Or if this fail, from the awakening of the intelligent North to the folly of a Radical-Disunion Congress.

Love to Lucy.

FRANKLINSVILLE.

To J. M. Worth.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 24 1868.*

I have written David to be sure to attend meeting at Fayetteville on the 11th proximo.

I write to-day to Makepeace to get at his plans.

I am not so entirely despondent as you are as to political matters, though I deem it not at all improbable that I

shall be decapitated very soon—but I have strong faith in the Supreme Court of the U. S.—and still stronger faith that the masses North will before very long crush Radicalism. Negro domination cannot long prevail.

My health is not re-established—and my labors, mental and physical, very oppressive. I feel mentally competent to meet all my responsibilities—but scarcely have strength to conduct my responsible correspondence and attend to my duties. A little freedom from care, which I shall get at removal from office, would probably do more than physic to restore my health. Whether removed or not, if you return by here from F. I think I will go down with you and get the benefit of a vacation and your medical experience. As a slight specimen of my labors I will try to inclose you a copy of a letter I lately wrote Genl Canby which has extorted from him a manly letter of retraxit. I hope you will read it with some pride. I am not sick enough to be a fawning dog.

To M. E. Manly.[1]

RALEIGH, *Jan. 24/68.*

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

Our military ruler is courteous enough to allow the Govr. and Council to recommend a successor of Judge Fowle. This recommendation is likely to be ratified. If we make no recommendation the vacancy will be filled by an extreme Radical, deriving his authority to act exclusively from military appointment. No native, so far as we can learn, having any pretensions to fitness, will take the teste oath. The alternative is presented to make no recommendation and thus bring on us the appointment of A. W. Tourgee or other villianous Radical, having no personal or professional pretensions to be a

[1] Matthias E. Manly, of Craven, a former Justice of the State Supreme Court. He had been elected to the United States Senate in 1865 but was not admitted.

judge with ignoble malevolence towards our people:—or selection from among the Yankees who have recently settled among us, some one less exceptionable for another. My Council meets on this matter next Friday. It is represented to me that Mr. Seymour of your place is among the least exceptionable of those to whose selection we are confined. Will you do me the favor to confer with my friends Clark, Haughton, and other prominent members of your bar and favor me with your views on this general question—and particularly as to the most fit man, among your acquaintances, according to your views, who would accept the appointment.

[P. S.] Brevity is unavoidable with me—I am now, and have been for weeks, confined by illness to my fireside.

To Kemp P. Battle.

Monday morning Jan. 26/68.

Advice as to his official action.

Since learning that Gov. Graham is of opinion that it will be inexpedient for you or me, in case of my removal from office by military authority, to resort to any legal steps for restoration, I am clearly of opinion that we owe it to North Carolina to hold on to our positions, if we can do so without positive dishonor.

If you may surrender your office and funds upon a military mandate, without recourse to law, surely you may obey a mandate to surrender *no part* of your funds.

I have arrived at the conclusion that if Canby should issue his edict, requiring you to obey the order of the Convention, you and your bondsmen will be *sunk,* pecuniarily —and your official dignity and honor *better* preserved by a partial yielding to such order, than by a *total* surrender, which I shall regard as most disastrous to the best interests of the State.

I think, therefore, that it should be managed, without its appearing to be done by your resquest, that Canby superadd his order to that of the Convention, and that you yield obedience.

I put these views in writing because I *desire* to assume my full share of responsibility.

If the state of the weather, in the opinion of my physician shall warrant it, I will go over to my office this morning and confer with you. Appearances now forbid it.

To Charles C. Clark.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 28 1868.*

I thank you for yours of yesterday.

Concerning the appointment of a Judge.

After most diligent inquiry previous to the meeting of the Council of State a month ago, neither I nor any member of the Council could name a native lawyer who would take the appointment to fill Judge Fowle's place. There was some reason to hope that Poindexter would accept. He was nominated: before I could get his answer I received a letter from Genl Canby stating that A. W. Tourgee had been "nominated to a civil office in the State and would have been *immediately appointed,*" but for the fact that in another correspondence with the Genl., I had described Tourgee as a man of "most destable character." I had reason to believe, what turned out to be true—that the civil office to which he referred was this vacancy on the bench. The Genl. called on me, (having previously written to Genl. Grant that my estimate of Tourgee's character was *"not accepted"*) to give *"the names and address of all persons on whose statement I based my charge."* I replied giving him a long list embracing some half dozen officers of the U. S., one respectable negro, and some thirty of the most prominent citizens of Guilford and adjacent counties. I wound up by stating that I had reason

to believe the vacant civil office which he proposed to fill with Tourgee, was this judgship; and that I knew no man every way so unfit, he having never had a license to practice law in this State—and his moral character being very bad. I then added that I had a right to infer from his letter that he did not intend to await or expect a recommendation from me and my Council which he had previously desired us to make: that after much delay, occasioned by difficulty in getting into communication with Poindexter, I had received his answer declining to accept —and that under all these circumstances, I did not propose to re-convene my Council. My letter further referred to the fact that he had never visited the State, and that he had not consulted me as to a single removal or appointment out of the many he had made in this State. My letter was as pungent as I could make it consistent with civility. To my surprise his reply acknowledged that my rebuke was just, alleging however the excuse that he had inferred from my delay in reporting the action of myself and Council, that I did not intend to act, and admitting that he had been led to believe that I was disposed to throw obstacles in the way of the administration of his duties in N. C.

In the mean time I wrote to each member of the Council apprising them of what had occurred. Several of them whose opinions you would most respect, even before I received the General's letter respectfully apologising for his apparent discourtesy, strongly urged that they ought to be re-convened in order to make a further effort for the reasons that they hoped we could find some one willing to accept who would be less obnoxious to us than one appointed by Genl. Canby, under the advice of persons here who have evidently got his ear.

Under these views of several members of the Council and after receiving the courteous answer of Genl. C., I summoned the Council to meet here next Friday. In the mean time I have conferred with the judges of the Su-

preme Court and all others whom I could consult (I have been sick for some weeks and rarely able to go to my office) and thus far I have not been able to hear of any native lawyer, young or old, in practice or out of practice, willing to take the test oath and the oath of office prescribed by our State and I have reason to believe that the judges of the Supreme Court would not recognise a judge not holding a comn. from the Govr. and Council.

In view of all these facts I have been inquiring, if no native can be found, for some one not a native, who would have *some* respect for our laws and people; and Mr. Seymour's name has been urged upon me by Mr. Goodloe and some other Republicans, who have represented to me that the prominent members of the Newbern bar would recommend Seymour. I do not know him personally nor by reputation, either as to personal character or legal acquirements and am in no wise committed to nominate him or any body else.

I feel my position as most embarrassing—and having made you this long explanation, I shall be most thankful to you, judge Manly, Mr. Haughton and other members of your bar, for any suggestion you will make touching my extreme perplexity, as to what is best to be done under all the circumstances.

New Bern.

To D. F. Caldwell.

Raleigh *Jan. 29 1868.*

Genl. Canby's late letters indicate that Tourgee will not be appointed. They are not so offensive. On the contrary they are not only entirely respectable but apologetic—but so far I can hear on no native who will accept the appointment and take the oaths—nor do I know of any lawyer, not a native, whom we can conscientiously recommend.

My son and myself have owned $1800. of stock in the Coalfield R. R. for years. When some months ago my attention was called to the ammended charter, requiring me to appoint an agent for the State, with power to nominate directors (a new sort of charter) and a meeting of stockholders then called and to come off in some two or three days, I did not have time to ascertain what were the questions likely to arise, I nominated my son, because I believed from his location and natural fairness, that he would not favor any local interest, which he might think conflicting with the interests of the State, nor do I now believe he will favor any location or other scheme not, in his judgment, most conducive to the best interest of the corporation. His appointment, as usual in case of State proxies, lasts to the end of the term of the present board of Directors.

He is expected to cast all his votes for what he shall deem most conducive to permanent interests of the corporation.

GREENSBORO.

To John D. Whitford.

RALEIGH, *Jan. 30 1868.*

My old man Stephen was a faithful and honest servant, and since he became free maintains his good character. At the late election here he voted the conservative ticket *openly*. This much to interest you for him in a very small matter. Just after the close of the war he loaned $5. in silver to Alexr. Scott, a smart bright mulatto. I think he is a carpenter – used to be in some way in the employment of the N. C. R. R. He is a smart fellow—makes money—but from want of honesty or improvident carelessness, does not pay. Stephen learns he is in your town or a place called Little Washington. I would not have you put yourself to any special trouble, but shall feel

obliged if you can find the fellow and induce him to pay Stephen.

I have never been more embarrassed in the discharge of my official duties.

I was gratified with your late effort in behalf of our Eastern R. Rs. and seaports. The newspapers ought to keep the matter before the public, reiterating the facts and arguments and presenting them so as to be understood by the common people.

NEWBERN.

To C. A. Cilley.

RALEIGH, *Feb. 2 1868.*

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

I have had a consultation with the judges of the Supreme Court and all the prominent lawyers of the State whom I have met since I last saw you and feel warranted in saying to you that your acceptance of the judgeship to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Fowle would be highly agreeable, under existing circumstances to the judiciary—the bar and the virtuous intelligence of the State. If you will consent to accept, I will nominate you. My Council are called to meet on the 4th inst. Please answer by telegraph.

LENOIR.

To Samuel R. Bunting.

RALEIGH. *Feb. 2/68.*

I have not outlawed any body since I have been in office. If you mean by outlaws those for whose apprehension I have offered a reward, explain and I will have list sent to you. Of late I have discontinued the practice of offering rewards by advertisement in News-papers, because the friends of the party to be apprehended generally give him

notice. I issue printed hand bills and send them to the Sheriffs, Mayors, etc. in the region where I may have reason to believe the fugitive may be found.

Wilmington.

To General Canby.

Raleigh, *Feb. 3 1868.*

Owing to accidental causes a quorum of my Council failed to meet on the 31st ult. Most of them explain the special cases which made it impossible for them to be here on the 31st ult.

I have summoned again to meet on the 11th inst.

I earnestly hope we may be able to recommend some one having some pretensions of fitness to be made a judge. My standard of fitness is attention for inquiry and power in legal reasoning. Since obedience to the Constitution and the Union are essential [*Several words illegible.*] prejudice can [*Several words illegible.*] manners. He should not only be a good man—but his past life should warrant and challenge the confidence of every man. A partizan judge will follow the stripe of his partizanship. I detest such, as do the honest people of North Carolina, and if he have not learning and firmness, he is but a tool in the hands of the smart lawyer on whom he [*Several lines illegible.*]

Charleston, S. C.

To Rev. C. H. Wiley.

Raleigh, *Feb. 3 1868.*

For weeks past I have been able to attend only to the most urgent of my public duties, owing to constant indisposition.

I have to-day read and filed in the archives of the Lit. Board your report touching funds in the hands of Chn—

School houses, etc. I conceive nothing can be done in these matters so long as we remain under military Government, nor is there any probability that during my administration the information imported by your report can be taken into any account.

I have felt myself constrained to give Mr. Best a warrant for his part of the trip to N. Y., making the sum total exceed $1100. I had perceived that it was not embraced in the bill rendered for you, Genl. Gwynn and Major Bagley. I certainly would not have signed the warrant without a review of the details, which by no legitimate means, as I think, could be swelled to the amount I have allowed. It must be numbered now among the errors of my administration. Conceding your extraordinary past services and that your pay was ever so inadequate, and even conceding that your claim against the board, not yet finally acted upon, ought to be allowed, I do not perceive any bearing whatever which these matters have on the subject of compensation for the trip to N. Y. nor do I perceive the propriety in case the board should allow your claim for past services, in retaining a portion of it to lower the extravagant expenses of the trip to N. Y. I see no benefit to arise from any further allusion to this (to me) most disagreeable subject, unless from the filing of the items making up the aggregate, it can be made to appear reasonable.

The survey of W. O. Swamp is progressing at very heavy expense.

I hear nothing from Maylett lately. I suppose he has abandoned the enterprise. I have not entirely lost hope of effecting a sale of W. O. Swamp, when the survey shall be completed—but I have faint hopes until governmental affairs shall assume stable form, of which there appears no well-grounded reasons for hope, at any early day.

GREENSBORO.

To B. G. Worth.

Raleigh, *Feb. 7 1868.*

The wine has arrived and I presume is genuine.

My health for the past week has very greatly improved. I am now simply weak—have not for a week suffered from undue laxity of the bowels, or other affliction—and with returning appetite am regaining my strength.

I am in entirely uncertainty as to the future—whether I shall be dismissed from office in a day or a week or a month or allowed to serve out the term for which I was elected—but, if I live and remain here this year, I think, and as a matter of taste and profit, want to cultivate a few acres of land in corn, etc and to make it turn out a good yield—and to this end want 10 bags best genuine Peruvian Guano. Please send them to me by freight, *not express:* and when you shall report the bill, I will remit, including price for wine.

To Edward Cantwell.

Raleigh *Feb. 10 1868.*

Your late letter asking whether a report had been made to me under the resolution of the Genl Assembly of Feb. 21/66, and if so, asking for a copy of such report, has been recd.

A very voluminous report, accompanied by sundry documents and testimony, was made to me by Atto. Genl. Rogers and immediately communicated to the Genl Assembly. These documents are among the legislative files and not in my possession. The copying would involve the hiring of extra clerical force for at least a week's work—probably longer. The result was an order that the matter undergo investigation by judicial proceeding, which has been instituted and is pending in Cumberland Supr. Court.

Oxford.

To J. J. Jackson.

Raleigh, *Feb. 10/68.*

Relations with Canby.

I have brought to a happy conclusion a most laborious and dangerous correspondence. Without in the slightest degree lowering the colors I am trying to carry creditably to North Carolina, Gen. Canby has frankly and honorably made the *amende honorable,* and he and his staff and the judge of the Supreme Court with a few others took tea with us tonight. He and his staff politely called on me at my residence immediately after his arrival here. I have reason to expect courteous treatment for the future of my official position.

I ardently hope our people may not, by vote or inaction, degrade themselves by allowing it to be said they ratified the schemes on foot to dishonor them.

To Clinton A. Cilley.

Raleigh, *Feb. 13 1868.*

I am not yet officially notified whether Genl. Canby will ratify the action of myself and Council appointing you a judge. I have no reason to believe he will disregard it—and to-day write to Judge Shipp, requesting him to exchange circuits with you, as you request in yours of the 11th inst.

Lenoir.

To William A. Wright.

Raleigh, *Feb. 13/68.*

I recd a few days ago the inclosed letter from Mrs. Shrier—and replied that I could do nothing upon her unsupported allegation. By this morning's mail I have recd inclosed letter from Gov. Orr. Courtesy seems to re-

quire me to make some inquiry into the matter. Will you give me such information touching the matter as may enable me to send some response to Govr. Orr?

Please return the letters with your answer.

Wilmington.

To D. Heaton.

Raleigh, *Feb. 13 1868.*

Concerning the appointment of a judge.

The friendly personal relations between us seem to require some explanation in relation to a paper delivered to me some days ago purporting to be a petition by yourself and some 30 other members of your Convention, addressed to Genl. Canby, advising him to appoint E. W. Jones Esq to fill vacancy on the bench of our Supr. Court judges occasioned by the resignation of Judge Fowle.

It was known that the reconstruction acts of Congress authorised the General to fill this vacancy and that he had courteously invited the Govr. and Council, according to our Constitution, to recommend a fit person to fill this vacancy, reserving to himself the right to approve or reject such recommendation. I do not therefore perceive either courtesy or propriety in sending to me, in advance of the action of the Govr. and Council, a petition to fill this vacancy by the General. It seems to invite the disregard of such recommendation, as it would have been addressed to the Govr. and Council, if intended to influence their action.

The paper sent to me purports to be the original petition, but as the petition and signatures are in one handwriting, I suppose it was intended to be regarded as a copy: but why sent to me, I cannot comprehend.

If the paper had been addressed to me to be laid before the Council of State it would have been so treated and due consideration given to it. Not understanding why it was sent to me and for what purpose I have taken no action on it.

I deem this explanation due to you and the other gentlemen whose names are attached to the paper.

RALEIGH.

To General Canby.

RALEIGH. *Feb 14 1868.*

I hope your interview with our intelligent citizens and the information derived from the worthy commandant of this Post, who has been long stationed here, will have satisfied you that the present municipal officers of this city have discharged their duties for the past year with remarkable fidelity and discretion and that our orderly population, whether white or black,—property-holders or non-property holders, (who are not mere partizans) anxiously desire their continuance in office, until a new election shall be held, or until there shall be just grounds of complaint offered against them. If you take no action in the matter I understand they hold over under the corporate laws, until their successors shall be appointed. With the *single view to the good government of the town,* I earnestly hope that you will deem non-action in the premises consistent with your duty.

RALEIGH.

To Charles A. Eldridge.[1]

RALEIGH, *Feb. 14 1868.*

Outlining conditions in the State.

If it be deemed necessary by you and others combatting the devilish schemes of Radicalism, to expose the unprincipled scheme of enfranchising any body here favoring the vile plan called re-construction, wholly irrespective of his

[1] Charles A. Eldridge, a native of Vermont, and at this time, and since 1852, a member of Congress from Wisconsin. He was in sympathy with President Johnson.

ante-cedents, it seems proper you should be furnished with authentic facts.

For more than 25 years W. W. Holden, late Provl Govr. of this State, was the editor of the N. C. *Standard*. I ran against him for Govr. in the fall of 1865. I inclose to you a paper, extensively circulated, in that contest. Holden has never impeached its exact truthfulness. From this you will see he was a Secessionist—violently abused the abolitionists—that he voted for the Ordinance of Secession in 1861—sustained the South with violent abuse of the North in the early part of the war—was an admirer of Jeff Davis etc—that he was the most ardent supporter of the Confederacy while the arms of the South maintained the contest with some prospect of success. See extracts *after* the war. I approved and he disapproved, the terms of capitulation between Sherman and Johnson. He professed to be a most ardent supporter of Prest. Johnson's plan of re-construction and I gave in my adhesion to it, as the best that was practical after the Sherman-Johnson plan was rejected. The great burthen of his appeal to be elected over me was that he claimed to be a more reliable friend of the Prest and his policy than I was. I have always been known and recognized as a Union man, but yielded obedience to the Southern government and acted with fidelity to my section when war became flagrant. I was elected and re-elected Governor by large majorities. Then Holden turned against the Prest —became an ultra Radical. Before negro suffrage became a part of the Radical programme, he kept at the head of his paper "uncompromising opposition to negro suffrage." *Now* he is a whole-hog Radical. He has always been a miserable political Jackall, standing off and grinning till the lion would throw him a bone. These bones now support him. The public printing given him by the Clerk of your house,—Bankrupt and other public work keeps up his vitality. He is now to be made a Patriot, and fitted by act of Congress, to be elected Gov. of a people,

every one of whom, having the instincts of a man, (and not the canine instinct,) despises him.

You must not infer that this letter springs from hostility to Holden, growing out of political rivalry. I am an old man—have seldom consented to accept political position—always abhorred Holden as a political cameleon—ardently desire to retire from political strife, but hope I shall never quietly acquiesce in promiscuous offers by authority, to encourage villiany.

I will not ask Congress to remove from me disabilities they had no right to impose, although I have been all my life a Constitutional Union—and law and order man. I inclose a paper or two, to show this—and submit whether it would not be well (not at my instance however) to move to add my name to the list to be enfranchised, so as to force the House to reject me and adopt Holden. I wish it distinctly understood that I would not go for the Radical schemes, for any office or reward Congress or the Nation could confer on me. I entertain neither hope nor wish that Congress will ever make me the political equal of the most ignorant slave I lately owned. I suggest it only as a means of showing that this Congress is not willing to allow the people of N. C. to choose between a constant Union man: and a Secessionist, anti-Abolitionist—anti-negro suffrage man who has spent a life time in assisting sectional alienation—if the Union man be not now a Radical.

If the papers I inclose be of no use to you, please return them. They are of fugitive character—I have had some trouble to find them—and in our local affairs they may be of use to me.

I address you, though a stranger personally, because I am an admirer of your manly course in Congress—And trust that you will not misconstrue, though it may be useless, this effort to expose W. W. Holden and those who would now try to make a Patriot out of such base material.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To William Clark.

Raleigh *Feb 16 1868.*

Regarding the negro in politics.

Yours of the 3rd inst. replying to mine of the 28th Dec. last, giving my speculative views as to the negro race and Radicalism, was a hastily written letter; and if construed as imputing unworthy duplicity to the Quakers, requires explanation. I have more respect for the Quakers than I have for any other religious sect. I regard their lives and doctrines as approaching nearer to the teachings of Jesus Christ and enlightened reason, than those of any other organized society of men, but *I* do not believe that *they* believe that I understand them to profess to believe, that the negro race is capable of being made the equal in any thing which distinguishes civilization, with the white race. I think they have dwelt on the wrongs done to the African race until sickly sentimentality has disturbed their usual equanimity. It seems to me that the whole history of the race, confirmed by all our observation, who have lived with the African in America, forces the conclusion that the Caucasian is a superior race of man: and as the Quakers and other Northern Radicals profess to believe him in all things the equal of the white man, but continually and conclusively show by their actions that they don't want him (the African) as a citizen among them, while they court the immigration of the white race from all countries, I do not believe them sincere in their professions. They are willing and anxious to invest him with equal political power with the whites in the South, (necessarily involving social equality) they don't want him as a citizen among them. Are any of you willing to encourage the negro to settle in Indiana—where your property and rich lands would enable you to give him remunerative employment and where you could extend to him the kindness and protection you say we will not extend to him?—and which you hold justifies the keeping up of an enormous standing army to carry out the Radical plans which the Quakers

approve, with the enormous taxation *unavoidably* attending it? If you are really sincere why not invite the negroes to go to you where you could take care of them and train them, without the expense of the enormous army you vote to sustain. I think it proceeds from your internal consciousness that the negro is a drone—that he cannot (because nature has forbidden it) be made a good and useful citizen. You must allow me to doubt your sincerity until you invite the negro to settle among you, and in all things, social and palitical, to become your equal. *I* think you all *internally* feel and know that the normal condition of the African is that of a savage—and that Providence, for inscrutable reasons, has made him incapable of permanent civilization and useful citizenship. If you *really* believe him an oppressed equal the benevolence which is your distinguishing characteristic would make you invite him within your protecting influence.

Until you invite him to go to you, you must allow me to fear to believe—that you are not free from the revengeful feeling against the South, springing from our unwise, wicked revolt—and that you are willing to fasten on us as a punishment this unprofitable dronish race.

This is a fuller exposition of my ideas. I must not be understood as alienated from the Quakers: far from it, but I don't believe they are free from the imperfections which belong to human nature—and one of these imperfections is the sustaining of an enormous standing army and Freedman's Bureau (which all of you do who sustain the Radicals) under pretence of protecting the negro, while you do not disguise your aversion to have him settle among you.

I have been long suffering under infirm health: and though lately much improved, am still less robust than usual—and rarely indulge in the exposition of my views as to questions of the character I have discussed in this hastily written letter. I abhor the Democratic tendency of our government. I use the word democratic in its

proper—not its party—sense. The tendency is to ignore virtue and property and intelligence—and to put the powers of government into the hands of mere *numbers*. The Quakers, therefore, as the advocates of universal negro suffrage, of course carrying with it the right to all who have neither property nor intelligence to vote, have become ultra democratic, and I politically part with them on this great fundamental principle. Men will be governed by their interests. The majority in all times and in all countries are improvident and without property. Agrarianism and anarchy must be the result of this ultra democracy.

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Economy, Indiana.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Raleigh, *Feb. 16 1868.*

Rent of mansion.

Genl. Tyler, Qr. Master of this mil. District, informs me he has submitted to the proper authority in Washington his report on my application for rent for the Governor's mansion. He says it is not his province to decide for or against the claim—and that he has simply reported the facts and an estimate of the amount to be allowed—if any thing be allowed. I could perceive that his judgment is against me, as to the legality of the claim and I fear his report is adverse to me.

The facts are that the Governor, in addition to his salary, which was $3000. a year before the war, has been furnished with a furnished residence by the State. As the mansion was occupied by the military and the furniture missing I have supplied my own residence and furniture, my salary being fixed at $4000. in present currency, and the Genl. Assembly in lieu of supplying me with furnished house, passed a resolution authorising me to apply to the U. S. for rent for the occupation of the mansion and to apply such rent to my own use.

I inferred from what was said to me at the Qr. Master's department, the day you went there with me, that the claim would be paid, as to occupation *after* the date of the President's peace proclamation: but I fear if I have no one to press it, that I shall not get it. Now I authorise you to attend to it in my behalf—or if it be inconvenient to you—or you deem it expedient, to employ a suitable attorney to press the claim for me. I hope I shall have no fee —or at all events only a small fee, to pay if nothing shall be allowed me.

You will add to the many obligations I am under to you, if you will give attention to this matter for me.

Washington, D. C.

To Rory McNair.

Raleigh, *Feb. 16th 1868.*

Yours of the 14th inst reached me last night. Genl. Canby had left here yesterday morning. I was not informed of effort to get your County officers removed. If you find any thing of the kind on foot, let me know, and I will do my best to frustrate the designs of your bad man Saintclair.

Lumberton.

To James B. Levy.

Raleigh, *Feb. 16 1868.*

Yours of 11th Feb. inst. is received. If wrong be done you as one of the property holders of Wilmington and the Corporate authorities of Wilmington will not redress (into which I cannot inquire as Gov. of the State) and if any amendment of our general laws, or local laws, be necessary, I presume you are aware of the fact that Congress has devised a scheme of government which denies to these States—(the Southern States)—the right to legislate. It

often happens that legislation is necessary to meet the occurrences of our anomalous condition. We are not allowed to legislate. Our conquerors claim the right to legislate for the whole nation and over corporate towns in the South. [*Rest of letter missing.*]

NEW YORK.

To Judge W. M. Shipp.

RALEIGH, *Feb. 17/68.*

Request to exchange circuits.

Mr. Cilley has been induced at my solicitation, speaking in behalf of the judges of the Supreme Court and of the bar—so far as I could collect the opinion of the bar, to accept the position made vacant by the resignation of judge Fowle. Mr. Cilley is very desirous to swap circuits with you and asks me to do what I may properly do, to carry out his wishes. I can only say that I shall be personally gratified if you shall exchange circuits with him—which exchange, so far as I can see, will not incommode you.

LINCOLNTON.

To Joel Lucas.

RALEIGH *Feb. 18 1868.*

Outlining Reconstruction.

Your long letter of the 3rd inst. leave no doubt as to your interest in the welfare of the people amongst whom you were brought up.

For several years our Country has been afflicted with National Insanity. When the leading men of the South undertook to protect slavery by breaking up the Union and setting up a Southern Confederacy—they exhibited insanity. The North now, which would put us under the government of the negro, is still more insane. Sane men know that for 6000 years, the negro has in no instance established or maintained successful civil government. They know that he is every where a drone in the national

hive—and hence every Northern State is averse to negroes settling among them. If they *really* believed him an equal and oppressed brother, they would invite him to settle among them, where they could better attend to his culture and fit him to aid in the march of civilization. What Northern Abolitionist wants the negro among them? but their hatred to us would make this race rule over us. This is insane hatred. If we be ruined, our dead corpse, hanging upon the body of the nation, will disease the *whole* body. Our folly led us into a war, in which since the days of miracles passed away, we should have expected three strong well armed men, likely to overcome one unarmed man. Our conquest was almost a certainty. The going into such a contest was insanity on our side. Now that we are conquered the North, if national, should treat us as the repentant prodigal son—but Northern insanity gives us only kicks and gibes—which must necessarily result in national ruin. There are some symptons of returning sympathy and sense, in our conquerors. I do not think we can do much in any way to aid this returning sanity. The general fact is known that we acknowledge and submit to the results of war. We still have some self respect. When we are called upon, by our own act, to declare that we deem it expedient that the negro shall hereafter be our rulers—when the national legislation asks me for instance, by my vote, to say that the most ignorant of my late male slaves ought to rule and that *I* ought not to have any hand in the government, because, when I could not prevent the late rebellion, and the United States could not protect me, I yielded obedience to the government established here, I will not yield to such insane demand. I can perceive no course open to us only to hope for returning sanity among our conquerors and in the mean time to submit to what we cannot resist: but not to give voluntary assent to put on and wear the chains which a generous conqueror would despise to ask us to wear.

I was glad to hear from you. Hope you have im-

proved your furtune by removal and glad to find you feel an interest in those among whom you were brought up in this time of sore calamity among them.

Thorntown, Iowa.

To Mr. Cowan.[1]

Feb. 18/68.

Affairs of the W. C. & R. R. R.

I have carefully examined the paper yesterday, relating to the W. C. & R. Rail Road, you placed in my hands, purporting to have been prepared by you. I treat you as responsible for the facts therein set forth.

On this assumption the W. C. R. R. must soon pass into the hands of strangers, to the total loss of the State and individuals who have done so much to build it, if the proposed relief asked from the Convention by this paper be not made effectual:—and you and Mr. Porter assure me it cannot be made effectual without my signature to the certificates of your bonds—to-wit that the Convention now sitting has passed the ordinance therein referred to.

Of course you ought to have my signature to prevent a calamity so terrible, if I may give it without great official unpropriety, as you aver such signature is essential to the success of the plan.

I regard this Convention as an assemblage called in violation of the fundamental provisions of our government—and I further think, even if it were constitutionally called, that no power is conferred on it by Acts of Congress which called it;—or the election of the delegates under such acts, to pass the ordinance for the relief of your corporation; and consequently I can do no act not in consistency with these convictions; nevertheless I perceive that the certificate asked of me, is simply an affirmation that the Convention has passed such ordinance and not an affirmation of my opinion that such ordinance is rightfully passed

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[1] Probably R. H. Cowan, of Wilmington.

—Even in this view I am embarrassed in giving my signature, because I do not perceive how I can officially know that any such ordinance has passed:—but in view of the terrible calamity to result from my refusal to sign it, I overlook what may be regarded as a technality, perhaps, and will sign it, when the passage of the ordinance shall be duly certified to me by the President of the Convention.

To B. G. Worth.

RALEIGH, *Feb. 21 1868.*

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My health is now pretty good. Gov. Graham's speech is not yet published. It was off hand. He is one of the very few men of America—who is great intellectually without a particle of demagogueism—a manly, virtuous, honorable statesman.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH *Feb. 24 1868.*

Rent of the mansion.

By the inclosed papers you will see my claim for rent for Govr's mansion has been rejected contrary to my expectations as derived from the officers we saw in the Q.M's office.

I doubt whether the claim has been duly considered. It is not a claim in behalf of the State. The use of the mansion is by law one of the rights or perquisites of Governors. At least after the Prest's. proclamation of peace, the military should have surrendered it to me. I furnished my own house because the military occupied that provided for me by law, and the Genl Assembly passed a resolution, authorising me [*line illegible*] amount of the U. S. to apply such rent to my personal use. It is in effect a part of my salary—a purely personal right. The

Govt. has paid every private citizen here for rent of his house occupied by the military, at least since this peace proclamation. If they choose to occupy the governor's house, I cannot understand why I should not be paid for such occupation.

Washington, D. C.

To General Canby.

Feb. 24th 1868.

Relating to claim against the W. C. & R. R. R.

Owing to the absence of the Prest. of the Wilmington, Charlotte & Rutherford R. R. and other causes I have not been able to close my investigation with the complaint of Messrs. Vance & Dowd against the Company, which you referred to me some time ago, so promptly as was desirable.

I recd yesterday certain papers touching the matter. I regard them as throwing no new light on the matter.

I am satisfied the claims of the plaintiffs are just and meritorious—and believe the officers of the company are anxious to pay them, whenever they can get means to do so.—The Company is in the most deplorable financial condition of any of our Roads. The Convention now sitting passed an ordinance a few days ago intended to enable the corporation to continue their operations by a loan of money and the agencies of the Road are endeavoring, as they assure me, with good hopes of success to raise money very soon, but whatever may be the result, I cannot perceive that the plaintiffs ought to have from you the relief they ask, for the reasons set forth in my former report—and especially and forcibly reported by Capt. Lazelle.

Charleston, S. C.

To John M. Morehead.

Feb. 25th 1868.

I was taken quite by surprise the other day when you told me you and your family felt grateful to me for my agency in bringing to final settlement the long protracted and important controversy between yr father and N. C. R. R. You properly appreciated my motive. I hold that every upright and judicious man, whether acting for himself or as agent or trustee for others, is anxious to bring to a close the controversies which are continually springing from business. I was attached to your father. Mutual kindness and respect had always existed between us. I desired also to deserve well of the State which had honored me by confiding to me her most important interests. I therefore suggested the reference of this controversy to Judge Ruffin and Govr. Graham, because from their character for intelligence and probity, no body could doubt they would settle it justly and more intelligently and satisfactorily than it could be done by the Courts. In making the suggestion I sought to serve *all* the parties concerned. You did not misconstrue my motives: but I understood you as desiring in behalf of your father's representatives to signify your thanks to me for my agency in closing this controversy in a manner to which nobody could except, who looked to a fair settlement of it. It resulted in relieving you and all concerned from anxious and protracted litigation. In this view of the matter, I accept, with great pleasure, the present you propose. Business matters.

When I became a member of the bar of North Carolina, I was very poor. I had no wealthy relative. I had married a wife poor as myself. At that time your father's pecuniary condition was far better than mine. He loaned me money when he knew I had no present means for payment, and it was long before my talent, not of precocious order, enabled me to pay. *He* did not mortify me by asking for payment before I was able to pay—and *I* did not

delay payment when I was able to make it. Cordial relations always existed between us.

With these views I accept your present with cordial thanks.

Charlotte.

To J. Turner.

Feb. 25 1868.

Railroad matters.

I believe in practice, the Board of Internal improvement, *after* the appointment of the State's proxy and Directors, has regarded itself as functus officio—and hence perhaps, I should not trouble them with my views: but I had requested Capt. Berry, at the annual meeting last July to offer a resolution, looking, without prejudice to the freighter, to carry freight the longest distance possible on the Roads in which the State is interested, not as an *injury* to any other corporation, but because, as I conceived, the *interests* of the State required it and the common usage of business required us to do every thing possible for the State and not working wrong to it. He offered such a resolution which was adopted—*unanimously* I am informed. I am informed however that this resolution is rendered inefficient and freights still leave the State Roads at Raleigh, without benefit to the freighter and to the great loss of income to the State Roads, by reason of certain co-operative plans of operation between the Directors on the N. C. R. R. and the R. & G. R. R. I am not thoroughly acquainted with the details, but I feel sure our people would prefer to patronise the State's Roads, not to their pecuniary prejudice, if left free to act—and I learn that very large amounts of freight, without benefit to the freighter, are still diverted; to the great detriment of the State, from her roads. I fear the Directors on the N. C. R. R. are not carrying out fully Capt. Berry's resolution, which I regard them as officially bound

to execute. I do not go into the modus—because I do not fully understand it—but I believe this resolution is made inefficient by some action, or non-action on the part of the Directors of the N. C. R. R. which I will endeavor more clearly to understand should it continue to be my duty to look after the interests of North Carolina in her Internal Improvement investments.

I do not believe a large majority of freighters would disregard the interests of the State if the Directors of your Board were in earnest in carrying out Capt. Berry's resolution.

Company's Shops.

To William A. Graham.

Feb. 27 1868.

North Carolina, you know, looks to you as her leader in the present stringency of political affairs.

Your speech at the late Conservative Convention has not been published and many are ignorant of your plans to carry out your views.

It is generally understood that you accept the issue forced on us whether the negro or the white man is to be dominant, and that you accept no middle ground.

I had entertained the view that upon some qualified basis of property or intelligence, negroes should be allowed to exercise a limited political power. I had inclined to this position—but with doubts whether we should not place ourselves on the broad ground that this is a white man's government—and that white men only must be its political managers. I understand you as having taken the latter position.—Although not perfectly satisfied that the course is exactly right or the most politic—I yield my doubts and I shall heartily co-operate in your views, being satisfied that co-operation is indispensable to enable us to preserve any semblance of civil liberty.

Assenting then to the position, I understand you as thinking that the negro is to have no part in the civil government. I have not understood—and do not understand—your plans, in [*Two words illegible*] looking to the carrying out of these principles.

I know that it is contemplated to make Vance our candidate for Govr. in the coming election under the reconstruction Congressional plan.

Hopes of Conservative success.

I concur in the soundness of his political views and know his efficiency as a canvasser and if this object be chiefly to put him in opposition to canvass the State and thus defeat the adoption of the Constitution which will be proposed to us, it may possibly be a judicious plan—but I have been unable to yield my entire concurrence in it. The genuine object is to defeat the adoption of the Constitution. It seems to me, if we succeed in this, we must carry with us a large portion of our people such as are to be found in Alamance, Guilford, and elsewhere who will not vote for him, and may thus be induced to vote for ratification. If we are to choose a candidate for Governor, members of Congress, and bring forward as our candidate men whom the great body of our people will support with enthusiasm, but whose war record will drive Goodloe, Helper, the Quakers, etc into the support of the Radicals, I fear we will fail in our *main* object. No good man can desire to be elected Governor under the Constitution about to be proposed to us. I would myself decline such a position—but to accomplish our object—the rejection of the proposed constitution—our candidates should be most equivocally opposed to it—but not odious to moderate—or rather equivocal Radicals. If Goodloe and his followers be entirely driven from us, we shall be beaten.

The drift of this letter may lead you to think I am seeking the nomination. I desire nothing so much as repose. There is no office I want—and I sincerely hope a more suitable man can be nominated—but I am firmly convinced, if we succeed, our nominee must be somebody whose antece-

dents are of the character of my own—and I have been unable to think of any body, if we are to have a candidate for Govr, whose name will suit so well as my own—but you must not let this frank avowal (—immodest—or presumptious—you may deem it) mislead you. I shall cooperate with you in the nomination you may make, with all my might—and while I would not refuse the use of my name, if I know myself I would yield to its use from no other than the most unselfish patriotism.

It seems to me that we ought to defer any concentration on our candidates for the present—until we see the final action of the Convention and the direction of the late action of Congress.

These views are presented for your personal consideration—without any wish or expectation of an answer, with, perhaps, imprudent frankness.

To Z. B. Vance.

Raleigh *Mar 2/68.*

Advising him not to accept nomination for governor.

I hear various rumors as to whether you will consent to run under late nomination.

I hear much on the subject. Very many of those acting with us, who were ultra Union men, greatly disapprove the nomination. While we all know that you don't want to be elected—that the *object* is to defeat the ratification of the Constitution, and that there is not a man in the State whose power with the masses equals yours, very many of us think you ought to canvass under the *appearance* of entire disinterestedness. You could in fact be *disinterested. You don't want to be elected under the Constitution.* No patriotic man would desire to be elected under this Constitution. The question simply is would your running tend to defeat ratification.

I think, if you will not canvass, save as a candidate, it will be best for the State that you accept. Your services

as a popular speaker are indispensable, but as your sincere friend personally and politically, I think you ought not to be placed in a position of soliciting election to an office you don't want—and could hardly accept. I think, if you will consent to render the State yr invaluable services in rousing our people from their fatal lethargy, it would be more *agreeable* to you, and *more efficacious,* that you appear as the *disinterested* advocate of another.

I shall sustain you openly and earnestly, whatever may be your decision—but I am satisfied you can render more efficient service in the present emergency, and a service tending more to the elevation in future due to your talents and patriotism, by canvassing for Lash, Hanes or other man of like political stripe, than by canvassing for yourself for a place you do not want. Large numbers of conservative Quakers in Guilford, Randolph and elsewhere and many others of like views over the whole State, will not now vote for you, and may thus be prevented from voting on the main question.

I have not been consulted at all on this matter by any body, and must be regarded as a volunteer in expressing these views.

If in looking to the votes of these Quakers and others of like stripe, we are likely to lose many voters who would ardently support you, and would not another equally conservative, I would at once abandon the opinions I have advanced. My great object is to use the most efficient means to *defeat Radicalism.*

If the candidate must canvass for himself, I would suggest Genl Leach.

If my name should be thought to be more efficient than that of Hanes, Lash or other person of like political stripe, it may be used, but I not only *do not desire* it, but have *aversion* to it. It may be that in the present temper of the public mind, that Edgecombe and other parts of the State of like views, would not rally under Hanes or Lash

and that they *would* sustain me. *Personally* I prefer that it be any body, rather than myself—, but I would allow nothing personal to interfere with the *main* object.

I am afraid the frankness of this communication, even in *your* mind, may be misconstrued,—which would be mortifying to me but the *mens conscia recti* which has always sustained me, emboldens me to obtrude my views on you, believing you will consider them with candor and give to them such consideration as they deserve.

CHARLOTTE.

To Josiah Turner.

Mar. 8 1868.

I desire to say to you, for you to use as you may think proper among our friends (not for the press)that if Lash will say unmistakably so, that he regards the reconstruction acts as unconstitutional, and that he is opposed to the ratification of the Constitution, which will shortly be submitted to the State, that his name will be the best one you can present in place of Vance's—and further that I would much prefer that he be nominated, than that *I* should. If our friends nominate me I will not decline, but I decidedly prefer that I may not be nominated.

To A. S. Merrimon.

Mar. 9 1868.

Declaring his determination not to run for Governor

I hear that some of our friends speak of nominating me as the Conservative Candidate for Governor.

I desire to say in unequivocal form, that I do not desire such nomination.

I think it essential to the main object, to-wit,—the defeat of the new Radical Constitution, that our Candidate shall have a good Union record—and if a genteel man

can be found, who would not be disfranchised by the Howard amendment and who is not a Radical, it would be most politic to nominate him.

If such man cannot be found I think your name would be eminently acceptable to our party, and personally I would much *prefer* that you be nominated instead of myself—but—if our friends, against my wishes, deem it best to nominate me, I feel that I ought not to decline the use of my name.

If Lash will say he is opposed to the ratification of the Constitution to be proposed to us, I think he is the man to be nominated.

Raleigh, N. C.

To E. J. Warren.

Raleigh. *Mar. 10/68.*

I received some weeks ago a voluminous report of agents of General Canby touching the conviction of Jas. P. Mitchell, asking me to pardon him on the ground of uncertainty whether Allen was not yet alive. The burthen of the application rested on the alleged ground that the proofs (other than the evidence of fellow prisoners of the convict of bad character) left it very doubtful whether Allen was not still alive and consequently averring that there was no proof that a homicide had been committed—much less fixing the guilt on him. His petition, herewith inclosed, sets forth the gist of the military application. I sent these voluminous papers to Mr. Faircloth (being more accessible than yourself) and asked his commentary thereon. He replied that he had no memoranda of the proofs of the trial—but that he thought you had—but stating that the evidence satisfied him on the trial that the prisoner was guilty. I refused the pardon. Having recd since my refusal, the inclosed petition from the prisoner, I shall be obliged by your commentary thereon, to aid me in the exercise of the discretion intrusted to me.

[P. S.] Since writing the above I have recd letter from Genl. Canby desiring your statement of the facts which were proved on the trial.

To William A. Graham.

RALEIGH. *Mar 10 1868.*

Concerning the gubernatorial nomination.

I regarded your speech before the late Conservative Convention as placing us before the nation and the world in not only a defensible,—but in a proud attitude. I concur fully in all its views. If we were left free to form a constitution—and the negroes were not banded against the whites, I would grant to those of them holding a given amount of property, the right to vote. This, I think, would be right per se—and consequently politic.

If I am nominated for Govr. I shall accept, but from a pure sense of duty. I *prefer* that it fall on Merrimon, or any other man *equally* available. I am afraid my candor may subject me to the suspicion that I *seek* the nomination.—*Very far from it is the truth.* I will feel relieved if another equally available can be found, who will accept. I go to Randolph to-day and shall not return for a week. If I should be nominated, I would not be present. I have written a note to Merrimon that I prefer that he be nominated rather than myself. The real object is to defeat the ratification of the Radical Constitution. If Lash will say he opposes its ratification, as he is eligible under the Howard amendment, I think his nomination would be more available that Merrimon's or mine—and on this condition I favor it.

HILLSBORO.

To A. C. C. Worth.

Raleigh, N. C. *Mar. 22 1868.*

Yours of the 19th inst. came to hand last night covering your photograph executed in the best style of the art. Accept my cordial thanks for it—but I was more pleased with the sentiments of your letter than with the token of your regard it contained.

I had previously deemed that your actions prove what you say—that you are "striving to be a man" [*Word illegible*] Worth has a son of whom his father may be proud. Nature has endowed you with the talent to succeed in the object of your vocation—and I am rejoiced to learn that your are falling into none of the views to which youth are so prone—that you have the ambition necessary to success, tempered by all the rules of integrity and virtue essential to real satisfaction in life and rational hopes of the future. He is really a great man, whether occupying elevated position or not, who never allows the temptations continually besetting him to get a temporary benefit, or to gratify the demands of passion, to disregard the rules of sensible integrity or the other laws of morality which the religion we profess inculcates. But there is a happy medium in all things. Industry,, Religion, every virtue may be run into an excess nearly as reprehensible as Indolence and the other opposing views. Since Pope used the expression "an honest man is the noblest work of God", the expression has been on the tongues of all men, and the sentiment of mankind has endorsed with equal unanimity the homely saying (Dr. Franklin's, I believe) that "Honesty is the best policy". Resolve—inflexibly resolve—whatever temptations may beset you, to be *honest* in all things—And you cannot fail to command the respect of *one* whose esteem will be of more value to you and yield you more comfort than all the honors the fickle multitude can confer on you. I mean—so act in all things as to command your own self respect.

If my example has not in all things reached this high standard, I have at least endeavored to act on these principles—and hope I have not fallen further short of my purpose than is the necessary incident of human frailty. I have used no unworthy expedients to acquire property or popularity—and think the results in my case confirm the adage that "honesty is the best *policy*. At a period when the misfortunes of our people made them look for a safe leader, without effort on my part, I was elected Governor—and re-elected without regular opposition. No other Govr. was ever elected in this State without an opposing candidate. I shall shortly retire by the expiration of my term; or by removal by military authority; with about universal approbation. The only *policy* I have pursued was honesty—a sincere diligent effort to discharge all my duties so as to have a conscience not reproaching me with wrong to any of my fellow men.

NEW YORK CITY.

To Dennis Heartt.[1]

RALEIGH *Mar. 22 1868.*

W. W. Holden, Solm. Pool, Deweese, and C. L. Harris sent to Genl. Canby a petition asking that Mr. Hogan be appointed Shff. of Orange instead of Mr. Turner recommended by you and others. I have recommended the appointment of Turner on the ground of the petition signed by you and others. Genl. Canby sent both petitions to me for my remarks. I don't know his decision. You will not notice this in your paper, but I do not object to your stating the facts, or showing it to others.

HILLSBORO.

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[1]The editor of the Hillsboro *Recorder*.

To James Rush.

Raleigh *Mar. 25 1868.*

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You will perceive, as soon as you read the new Constitution that if it be adopted, taxation will very soon swallow up the landholders of this State.

Opinion of Ashe.

Ashe is a good man—an old Union Henry Clay Whig who got wrought up higher than you or I, for the war, but the choice is between him and Holden, who has always lived by sectional strife. I would vote for Ashe if the new order of things allowed me any vote. If you cannot induce our friends to vote for him, if they are true peace and Union men, they should not vote for the prince of Secessionists and agitation. There is no baser man than Holden as a politician. If they will not select the lesser of what they regard as two evils, let them not vote at all as to Governor. If we are not to become Mexicanized and lose sight of civilization and [*Word illegible*] we must put down the proposed Constitution. Get every body to vote against the Constitution whether they will vote for Ashe or not.

To Z. B. Vance.

Mar 25 1868.

Concerning the gubernatorial nomination.

Yours of the 22nd inst. has been recd. I have carried out your sugestion, as far as I think I can prudently go, in a letter to Genl. Canby, a copy of which will be inclosed.

I am sorry that I was not in your dagu. gallery at Rutherfordton. It would have done me good to see the pictures.

There is no man among us fitter to be made Governor than Ashe—but the substitution of his name for yours will not help us. I feel *relieved* at being out of the ring,

and think our friends did right, under all the circumstances, in not nominating me. Merrimon or some one having *no* record—or a very specific record—and who is now unmistakably opposed to the ratification of the monster constitution, would have been more available. I fear the Quakers and their influence will not go for Ashe. Many of them might have been induced to vote for a nominee suiting us as well. But this is now settled. Hurrah for Ashe.

Every good man in the State owes you gratitude for the effort you are making to prevent a reign of scallawagism in N. C.

Charlotte.

To Colonel J. V. Bomford.

Mar. 26 1868.

I learn from Secty. Best that a party of soldiers who yesterday brought wood into the Capitol Square for the use of the military now occupying a room in the building, drove their wagon against one of the iron gate posts and broke it down. Mr. Best says he saw them run against the post and break it down, but he does not know the names of the parties:—that he requested them to carry it to the foundry to be mended which they refused. I respectfully request that you investigate the matter and cause the wrong-doers to pay the expense of repairs.

Raleigh.

To A. S. Kemp.

Mar. 26 '68.

The body of your late letter which reached here in my absence, was attended to by my private secty. He retained the Post-Script in which you express the belief that I ought to have been re-nominated for Govr.

There were considerations against it. If I were nominated it was feared my acceptance of the nomination would be considered by Genl. Canby as opposition to reconstruction, and that I would be immediately removed and an odious successor appointed. This was a weighty consideration,—especially if the new Constitution be defeated, which all good and sensible men ought to strive to effect. It is a monstrosity. Chaos is preferable to it. It would tie us as to reformation. The negroes and their meaner co-adjutors under the provisions of this Constitution would always defeat amendment.

I did not personally desire the nomination. I have been twice elected by the voice of the people—in the second election without regular opposition—the first instance of the kind in our history. *My ambition was more than satisfied.* If our friends had deemed it best for the State to run my name in this contest, I would have consented to it from motives of patriotism only. They *knew* I did not *personally* desire the nomination. I am conscious that in allowing my name to be run against Holden in 1865—when the prospects of defeat were strong—and in all my subsequent actions—I have acted from unselfish motives—And I am gratified with the belief that our whole people accord to me patriotic motives, and, with the exception of Holden, feel no malevolence against me, and it is not improbable that my name would have been, as you think, the most available one to defeat the monster demagogue, Holden: but I am not sure our friends did not act discreetly in the premises. I think there should be no hesitation in preferring Ashe to Holden—And that no good man, entitled to vote, should fail to vote against the Constitution.

I always desired, as I do now, to support the Constitution of the United States. When the State arrayed herself against it, as I understood it, against my judgment, I yielded obedience to the "powers that be" and therefore acted with fidelity to my new engagements. I desire

Union on the basis of the Constitution—but not the Union proposed to us by the Radicals.

ELIZABETHTOWN.

To George Laws.[1]

Mar. 27 1868.

Yours of the 25th inst. came to hand to-day and is forwarded to Genl. Canby with request for prompt action.

He lately forwarded to me for my remarks a petition signed by you, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Hiatt and others recommending the appointment of Turner. Also correspondence between your Bureau officer and Genl. Miles. in which the officer endorses your recommendation. Also a petition signed by W. W. Holden, Deweese, Sol. Pool, and C. L. Harris recommending the appointment of a Mr. Hogan. I replied that the later petitioners were partizans and non-residents of Orange, excepting Pool, and endorsing your recommendation. I conclude the reference to me has occasioned some delay in filling the office. My letter to Genl. Canby was sent on the 21st inst.

HILLSBORO.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Mar. 30 1868.

Have you some leisure to give any attention to my claim for rent as to Governor's mansion? I would like that the case be fully presented. The laws of the State entitle the Governor to the occupancy of the mansion as much as they do to his salary. The occupancy of the military prevented the enjoyment of this right. I have been recognized, at least, as a *provisional governor*. Does it comport with the dignity of the U. S. to occupy the house

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[1] Clerk of the Orange Court.

provided for the residence of the Governor, and thus leave him to look out for a house, and pay nothing for the occupancy?

Opinion as to conditions in the nation.

A maxim of my life has been never to despair. I intend to adhere to it to the last: but the action of the majority of Congress on the question of the Alabama Constitution—the apparent acquiescence in this action by the North;—the ignoble action of the Supreme Court, showing that the judges are governed only by the motives which control the ignoble judges, have subjected my maxim to a severe teste. I now despise the occupants of the Supreme Judicial Tribunal of the U. S. The spell which made me regard them as the surest and safest guaranty of civil liberty,—is gone. The judges prove to be mere mortals—carried away by the popular current. The reconstruction acts are so palpably in violation of the Constitution of the U. S. that no sane man could hesitate. The judges dare not so declare. The vox populi is now the last resort. If it shall sustain the powers that be, virtue and intelligence and honor will have no prop left and we must drift into a revolution which the eddying currents will direct. I verily believe that history furnishes no example where baser men have acquired control—and none where these men have used it more exclusively for the ignoble purpose of mere partizenship. I have not a particle of confidence in the patriotism or personal honor of any member of the majority in Congress. I respect Thad. Stephens as the prince—admire his manly courage; but despise the cringing wretches whose actions are governed by the crack of his whip.

I regard with terror the next phase in our political affairs, and on mere personal grounds would fly my country—but have decided to abide the fate which awaits us. This fate,—I believe—is first anarchy—and then despotism. Despotism for the whole United States—now practically existing in the Southern States. Although there is no man in the United States who has always more ar-

dently desired to preserve the Constitution and the Union, than I have, I can perceive in the legislation of Congress nothing but party domination. Your friend Bingham whom I had regarded as not utterly debased by party ties, is now struggling to be placed in the front of those who would persecute us. I regard him as having lost all moral principle, and hence detest him more than I do the prince of darkness whose noble traits of character relieve him from petty matters.

I have indulged in free expression of my sentiments. I grieve over the fall of the Supreme Court. Its members must be despised by all who retain any manliness of sentiment. I abhor the Congress which, I think, meditates the overthrow of Civil liberty as established by our constitution.

You will regard these sentiments as uncharitable. I solemnly think they are not. I do not believe there is any honest man on the majority benches of Congress, unless it may be a few silly enthusiasts form an exception.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Benjamin Lavender.

RALEIGH *Apl 4 1868.*

A severe indisposition has prevented an earlier answer to yours of the 30th ult.

As a lawyer I presume you will concur with me (also formerly a lawyer) that the Governor can do nothing officially in your case. In its present condition it belongs to the judicial—not the executive branch of the State government.

No man can feel more fully than I do that your case requires the protection of the laws, and most willingly will I give any aid in my power to give you such protection, but it seems to me you could file your complaint on affidavit, with a magistrate of the County in which the

offence was committed, and if he shall fail to issue his warrant, or any officer bound to obey it, shall neglect his duty, he should be indicted. The Solr for the State cannot fail to send a bill of indictment on your application, and to prosecute with vigor an outrage so wicked and wanton.

I have heard much, in partizan circles, of partiality on the part of our judicial officers, in favor of men of Southern sentiment against Union men and negroes. In every special case to which my attention has been called, on inquiry I have found such complaints without color or foundation. No one would lament more than I, or lend the whole force of his official and personal position to punish any instance of such want of judicial uprightness.

Assuming that you know, upon the facts set forth in your letter, that I have no official authority to take any official action (if you should not think so please explain what you think I can rightfully do) it occurs to me as possible that you think I ought to ask for the extraordinary interference of the military now exercising dominion over us. With my present views I cannot do this. If your purpose is to ask me to call on the military in aid of the civil authorities please explain how you think I, elected as Civil Governor, may properly do this, especially where no evidence is furnished of any deviation of duty on the part of the judicial authorities of the State.

I feel personally very solicitious to give you any aid I can properly use to bring to just punishment the perpetrator of the grievous wrong done to you.

LITTLETON.

To John McCormick.

RALEIGH. *Apl 4 1868.*

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I am gratified to find our people waking up to their political prospect. If the plans of Congress shall be carried out we are an utterly ruined people. If the negroes and the meaner whites are to rule and the most intelligent of our people to be excluded from office: If such base scamps as Holden, Rodman, etc. are to hold the highest offices, and we are to pay the taxes required by the proposed Constitution, the property of the people of this State must pass into other hands. Surely the taste of Radicalism which your people get in the per diem bill and mileage of the Convention—and particularly the rascally greediness of Turner, will insure to Conservatism every white man's vote in Harnett[1]—excepting the *poor devils who seek office to steal the people's money.*

HARNETT C. H.

To Sion H. Rogers.

RALEIGH *Apl. 5 1868.*

Please read inclosed letter—and if you think you can make any suggestion to the petitioner, please communicate it to me. I know of nothing I can do, as Governor, in the premises.

Please return the letter to me. If you choose to make any suggestion you can endorse it or attach it to the letter.

I presume you know the writer. I do not.

RALEIGH.

[1] The delegate from Harnett county who, living only thirty miles from Raleigh, certified to 524 miles.

To Gaius Winningham.

RALEIGH *Apl 5 1868.*

It distresses me that the continual pressure of public responsibilities makes it impossible for me to keep up correspondence with my life long friends.

The new government proposed for us denies to me, who am now and always was a better Union man than any body who now abuses me, the right to vote or to hold office. Under it I am not eligible as a constable, but my late slaves—Don, Jordan, etc., can vote and may be elected to any office.

The new government requires the imposition of taxes amounting to confiscation.

If any white man, not an *office seeker,* can be found willing to adopt such a Constitution, he must be a natural fool—and any man willing to ask for office under the terms of the proposed constitution is a wretch whose posterior every honest man ought to kick.

To Colonel W. G. Moore.

RALEIGH, *Apl. 8th 1868.*

Case of Tolar, etc.

Papers on file with the President show (undisputed by any body) that some 18 months ago a negro named Beebe attempted to commit a rape on a young lady in sight of Fayetteville as she was returning from church on Sunday. Her character was above reproach. Her screams called to her rescue an old negress living hard by, whereby his fiendish purpose was frustrated. The negro was arrested next morning—immediately identified by the intended victim and the old negress. The exciting circumstances drew together a large multitude at the preliminary trial. He was ordered to jail in default of bail. On the trial the neck of the young lady was exposed by way of confirming her statement that the monster had chocked her

to suppress her cries. It was bruised and lacerated. While in custody on the way to jail some one shot him through the head and he died immediately. A criminals inquest was held. There was much conflict in the evidence and the jury reported that they could not decide who fired the fatal shot. [*The rest of the page cannot be read.*]

One Phillips was accused of the killing of Beebe. The prosecution released him and made him a witness. *He* proved that Tolar fired the fatal shot and his testimony was confirmed by some negroes and perhaps others—while other witnesses of unquestionable character swore positively that they saw Phillips shoot the fatal shot. The respectable and intelligent citizens of Fayetteville do not believe that the convicts are guilty. I am satisfied that the prosecution was conducted with great vindictiveness by the accuser and judge advocate, Genl. Avery, and that the verdict was not warranted by the evidence, and that there was evidence against Watkins & Powers which gave color of justice to the verdict.

I am satisfied that Tolar is a man of exemplary character—a member in good standing of a religious society and of the Masonic order. He is a man of family—his small property all exhausted in his defence.

Assuming that the defendants are guilty, their crime did not spring from malignity. I earnestly hope the President will at once pardon them. Petitions are on your files signed by vast numbers of our citizens praying for their pardon—and if there be one man in the State—black or white—opposed to their pardon, I have not heard of such person.

This letter may be filed, if the President will grant the pardon. It is addressed to you because the President's time must be so occupied with his defence and other official duties that I fear this just act of beneficence will be overlooked, if *you* do not take interest enough in it to call the President's attention to it. I do not write this

letter at the instance of anybody. My feelings have been thoroughly moved by the fact which has incidentally come to my knowledge, that Capt. Tolar, whom I believe to be a good man, of noble impulses, is sinking into despair.

I feel the most intense interest, for the sake of Constitutional liberty—and for the honor of the name of America, that at least one-third of the Senate may allow the impulses of honor and virtue to restrain their partizan proclivities—but I confess the subserviency of the Supreme Court of the United State, in the firmness of which I had till lately confided, gives no hope for the future except in the voice of the masses—and when the voice is heard by universal suffrage, I feel terrible apprehensions that anarchy is not far distant.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To S. S. Jackson.

RALEIGH *Apl 9 1868.*

Refusing to speak against the new Constitution.

I entertain no doubt that if I were to go to New Salem and make a speech against the new Constitution, I would be *immediately removed from office.* There would be no justice in said action. The legislature professes to leave us free to choose; but we know that all the authorities demand that we favor ratification. I look upon the Constitution as a virtual confiscation of the lands of the State. Most of it must soon change hands under the taxation required by this proposed Constitution. The fountains of Justice will be corrupted by the Judiciary system proposed, and the universal suffrage feature, with the removals from office prescribed by the Howard amendment, would leave property and character and virtue unprotected. Every impulse of my nature impels me to use all the influence I possess to defeat a scheme I deem so utterly ruinous—but I feel that I owe it to those who elected me and that I can best contribute to preserve our

liberties by holding on to my position as long as I can without dishonor. In this view I decided long ago to make no speech and publish no address against the re-construction acts as they are falsely called. If I thought or should think, that it is necessary to a defeat of the Constitution that I surrender my office, I would not hesitate a moment. With my present views I decline to address the people of New Salem and neighborhood.

ASHEBORO.

To A. M. Tomlinson & Sons.

RALEIGH *Apl. 11th 1868.*

* * * * * * *

I regard the proposed new constitution as virtual confiscation. No government, based on the will of mere numbers, irrespective of intelligence or virtue, can last long. Providence has so ordered it that a majority of mankind are improvident. Self interest is a ruling principle of our frail nature and hence the non-property holder will be antagonistic to the property holder. Civilization consists in the possession and protection of property. If we cannot defeat the adoption of the proposed Constitution the principle will be triumphant that those who have no interest in the protection of property and the preservation of order, will be the ruling power. Opinion of the new Constitution.

* * * * * * *

[P. S.] Literary documents are occasionally sent to me which I have not time to read. I would like to send some of them to our friend Moore, but don't remember his given name. Don't let that arch villian A. W. Tourgee get on your blind side.

BUSH HILL.

To Solomon Moss.

RALEIGH, *Apl 13/68.*

The lawyer, Thos. H. N. McPherson, in Washington City, under date of the 9th inst, sent a note to B. S. Hedrick, through whose agency McPherson was employed, of which I inclose a copy. I have been at considerable trouble in presenting your claim and making the proofs required. As soon as one requirement is met a new one is presented. I turn over the matter to you and such counsel as you may employ in Indiana. I never desired or expected any compensation for my services and have lost all confidence and respect for the authorities in Washington having this matter in charge. Their conduct is not frank and honest and I wish to have nothing more to do with them.

I have from time to time proved all that they required until the case showed them what *could not be truthfully proved,* and then they require this proof. I think you had better employ some Radical to prosecute your claim —but advise you not to give him your indentures or pay him anything except on condition of his getting something for you.

Do you intend to redeem your watch?

* * * * * * *

[P. S.] If you cannot get the bounty, I suppose the brothers and sisters of the deceased are entitled. I am thoroughly disgusted with the shifting quibbles to which the officials resort in your case, and hope your future agent will correspond with Mr. McPherson. I wish to have nothing more to do with the quibbling scoundrels, who appear to be fit representatives of the hypocritical crew now running the national machine.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.

To William Clark.

RALEIGH *Apl 13 1868.*

I recognise in Sister Louisa's injunction that you and I quit writing about the negro, the practical good sense which I think characterises our family, and therefore will only say that I feel intense abhorrence and disgust at the schemes of Radicalism which seek to perpetuate their party domination by Union Leagues of negroes and baser white men—which seeks to make the lowest ignorance, instead of intelligence, the ruling power in the South. I abhor and despise a party, which for party domination, gives to the basest and most ignorant negro the right to vote and hold office, but denies to me and thousands of others, better Union men than any one who favors this silly and wicked policy, any voice in the government under which we are to live. All of us who struggled to preserve the Union until it was supplanted by another government here and who then obeyed the scripture injunction to obey the powers that be, are condemned in common with the original agitators and only made eligible to office by swearing lies, which most Radicals swallow with zest. I always hated Secession, because it tended to Disunion. I hate Radicalism still worse because it tends more to Disunion. I have always loved the Quakers—but so far as they now unite with Radicalism, I abhor and detest them, as I do all other Radicals. I know no Radical (unless he be a simpleton) whose motives I respect.

For months past I have generally been confined to my house by indisposition—At present my health is much improved—I am quite restored. I expect to retire from political life, and feel quite at sea as to the future Providence may allow to me. Nearly all I have is real estate. Under the government Radicalism forces on us, land can be sold only at a nominal price. Agriculture can't flourish when every pig and cow and sheep is stolen by some indolent negro protected in his indolence and villainy by a

set of poor devils paid by the government to foster hostility to the whites and protect them by the bayonet against just punishment for their crimes, and to furnish them from the national Treas. all they can't steal. I don't perceive how I can get away:—nor any chance to live here: and I think I see in the antagonism of races which partizanism encourages for the sake of party domination, internecine war not far ahead. I am undecided what I can do—or how any of us can make a living here, if the North persevere in her policy of making the negro the dominant power here—a race wholly incompetent to govern, if history is to be respected in forming a conclusion.

The adoption of the new negro Constitution is advocated by the negroes as a unit and Holden, Rodman, and other Secession allies and Pool, and Dockery, and Settle and other base scoundrels who hope to attain ascendency through negro votes, co-operate with them. The contest is a doubtful one.

Our family is generally enjoying good health—some of us making a living, other consuming the earnings of former years and hoping for something better "to turn up."

Economy, Indiana.

To C. B. Mallett.

Raleigh, *Apl. 21 1868.*

Yours of the 17th inst. reached me by to-day's mail.

I know nothing, not known to the public, as to Genl. Canby's intention to confirm the legislative ordinances of the Convention. In this period of Revolution I have little confidence in any rules of construction, based on precedent. I do not concur in Mr. Haughton's views—but I have little confidence in my own or any body else's constructions—and do not feel that I can conscientiously advise you—I have had no opportunity to examine the ordinance of the Convention touching your Road. It seems

to me that neither the Genl. Assembly at its last session,—nor the Convention, contemplated the *payment* of the State liabilities—contemplated by their legislation. I regard all this legislation as for buncombe:—If *something* may be realised tending to build your road, you must judge whether it is expedient to realise this *something*. As I understand it now, no bonds will be issued under the ordinance to which you refer, until Genl. Canby shall ratify the ordinance. Whether the Governor and the State Treasurer will respect his ratification (having had no consultation with the Pub. Treas.) I cannot say.

Looking to the interests of your Road, as explained by you, I suppose you had better ask Genl. C's. ratification, and leave us to act as best we may.

Fayetteville.

To Colonel J. V. Bomford.

Raleigh, *May 1st 1868.*

I am pained to learn this morning that you have been displaced as Commandant of this Post.

During the entire period of your command here I have had much personal and official intercourse with you; and candor requires I should say that my unqualified repugnance to the legislation of Congress, which you were required to execute, did not predispose me to regard your action with undue favor; but I deem it due to you, and to justice, to say to you on retiring, that I heartily concur in the judgment of every virtuous and intelligent man in this community, that your whole conduct, official and social, has been such as becomes a veteran officer of the United States Army—always strictly performing your duty—always urbane—and eschewing partizan politics so thoroughly that I do not know what are your party predelictions, if you have any.

I make this voluntary testimonial to you as an act of sheer justice.

Hoping that your manly virtue may be duly appreciated wherever you may go, and that prosperity and happiness may constantly attend you, I have the honor to be, etc.

RALEIGH.

To B. S. Hedrick.

May 1 1868.

Can you gather from the under currents whether measures will be taken to install Holden and his associates at an earlier date than contemplated by existing Legislation? They are panting to get in; and I have never doubted that Congress would at once remove their disabilities, as they would at once white wash the Devil, if they deemed it necessary to the advancement of Radicalism.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To M. E. Showman.

RALEIGH. *May 2 1868.*

Yours of the 30th ult. in which you say "the accompanying address has been sent hither from friends in England for circulation. If willing to distribute some of them among those to whom they are respectively addressed thou will oblige by doing so, and will please advise how many of each thou could use in this way."

One only of each of the addresses was enclosed, which I have read with the careful consideration which I always give to publications emanating from your Society. I do not doubt the sincere design of the writers to contribute to the very wise and benevolent object which they contemplate: but they proceed on the mistaken apprehension that the late owners of the slaves of the South feel unfriendly to the advancement of the freedmen. Until our conquerors, under cover of the military power of the U. S., allowed and encouraged the banding together of the negroes into

Loyal leagues, in order to concentrate their votes, to perpetuate the ascendency of the present dominant party, there was more kindness and sympathy for them by their late masters than by any body else. Since Northern partizanship has banded them together against the whites the antagonism of races, which is the natural, if not the intended result, is disclosing itself. This, if not corrected, will ultimately terminate in the extinction of one race or the other.

I will with pleasure distribute more of the addresses, if sent to me.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

To Dr. J. G. Ramsey.

RALEIGH, *May 2 1868.*

Your long and friendly letter of the 30th ult. is just received and conveys to me the *very first intimation* that there is any-body in this State thinking of another conflict of arms to maintain our notions of our National rights. Any such design, if it exist, must be confined to a very small number whose enthusiasm has got dominion over common sense.

Constitutional matters.

I have a fixed conviction that when the rebellion was suppressed each of the States engaged in the Rebellion, was entitled to its rights under the Constitution. There might well exist some doubts as to the proper mode of reorganising the machinery of State government. I thought it should have been done through the agency of the de facto State government—but it was an anomalous question and I yielded to the Lincoln-Johnson plan. Consequently I felt, at the end of the rebellion, that I owed my allegiance to the U. S., bound to obey and entitled to the protection of the Constitution of the U. S. I felt that obligation quite as binding on me *before* as *after* the renewed oath I took to support the Constitution of the U. S. I

have regarded the body claiming to be the Congress and excluding 10 States of the Union, as a Revolutionary body, exercising powers not granted by the National Compact. I have regarded and now regard the whole of the legislation, called reconstruction, as unconstitutional and Revolutionary.—I regard, therefore, the call of a Convention in this State under military auspices and dictating what must be done to entitle us to the benefit of the Constitution of the U. S., as unconstitutional—and as a conscientious man, believing the Convention to be unconstitutionally called, I would not have given my sanction to its call by voting to ratify its action, even if I had regarded its action as wise. But apart from universal suffrage, even if coupled with universal amnesty, I would not sanction it by any action of mine—much less would I sanction the provisions of the Constitution touching the judiciary—and the apprehension that something worse would result from refusal to ratify would have had no influence on my action.

[P. S.] I stand upon the Constitution of the U. S. and will in no way give my sanction to any measure, which, in my judgment requires me to violate my solemn duty to support it.

Rowan Mills.

To S. S. Jackson.

Raleigh, *May 4 1868.*

Yours of the 1st inst. is received.

I regard it as about settled that the control of our State affairs is transferred to the control of those who have no property, and consequently no concern for the general welfare—while the action of the Convention has vastly increased the State debt for objects never likely to return revenue to the Treasury, while they require a tax to be imposed to meet the interest. The public taxes,

State, National, County and municipal, if no more direct means be adopted, seem to me to threaten to destroy the property holder. And consequently, as this state of affairs cannot be changed at the ballot box, at an early day, if at all, especially when so many of our people, who have property, have allowed partizanship to take away their brains, the temptation to leave the State is very strong, if there be any place to which we could fly and escape these evils. Where can we go? We can escape negro domination by settling in any part of the dominions of our masters—and I would prefer this, if I could dispose of my property here at anything approaching its value. At present I see no hope of realising any thing of consequence from real estate. If, from any cause, we could sell our real estate, at any thing like a fair price, I would fly—to some of the British dominions; but as we cannot sell *now,* it is inexpedient to say what we *would* do, if we *could* sell. Possibly Radicalism triumphant, may bring immigration and enable us to sell. In this case I would go to Honduras or California. If we cannot emmigrate we must manage our boat among the breakers and try to be the most skillful navigators in the storm. Whatever the government I hope we shall be able to take care of ourselves. And if we are compelled to remain here, (as I think we shall be) I think we can manage our boat as well as any body else.

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ASHEBORO.

To Nathaniel Boyden.

RALEIGH. *May 4 1868.*

I inclose a letter from S. F. Burkhead. I cannot interfere in his behalf without some satisfactory testimonial in his behalf He refers to you. Will you please inform me what you know of him.

I am rejoiced that you are elected to Congress. If the conservatives had nominated the whole corps of candidates out of men of your antecedents the result of the election would probably have been different. Our Secession friends exhibit injudicious haste to occupy front seats.

Salisbury.

To W. J. Yates.

Personal. Raleigh, *May 5 1868.*

Your late editorial,[1] which has been generally if not universally copied by the press of the State, expressing your conviction that my administration has been faithful and patriotic, considering your political stand point, has been very gratifying to me. I have no future aspirations —and my past career, whether good or evil, has never looked to office. I have felt gratified by your article because I know that all my actions have sprung from the honorable purpose to discharge my duties properly, and next to the approval of my own conscience I derive satisfaction from the approval of my fellow man. Accept my thanks for the approving article which I know sprung from as honorable and noble motives as I claim to have always controlled my own conduct.

Charlotte.

To B. S. Hedrick.

Raleigh *May 6, 1868.*

Opinions as to Radical plans.

Yours of the 4th inst. is received.

It is understood that Holden left here yesterday evening for Washington City to expedite the inauguration of the new government. He will probably ask for some legislation putting him and his associates into office at an

[1] In the Charlotte *Democrat.*

earlier date than would get in under the reconstruction acts. With the views I entertain of the present dominant party in Congress I do not doubt that he will compass his object if the majority shall think such action calculated to strengthen the party. I do not propose to use any effort to resist the current, but simply to keep my lamp trimmed ready to vacate on a moment's notice.

It shocks all sense of Justice and of honor that Congress should grant dispensation to Holden, Rodman, & Co. and refuse it to me.

The party will wrangle so much in bestowing the Senatorship, that I am not sure that I would stand a fair chance to beat Dockery, if a dispensation were granted to me. He voted in Dec. 1860 an appropriation of $300,000. to arm the State, and he voted in May, 1861 for the Convention. I spoke and voted against both. My position is better every way than his save that he is a Radical. I am not. I am now and always have been for the Union on the basis of the Constitution, but not for the Union Radicalism would force on us.

The great error, in our late contest, sprang from the impatience of the old secessionists to take front seats. I do not know the exact strength of parties in the Legislature.

The conviction of the President, which I look upon as certain, will be lasting reproach on the nation, and will expedite the downfall of Radicalism. No honest senator can believe that the evidence warrants conviction.

Washington, D. C.

To C. B. Mallett.

Raleigh, *May 6th 1868.*

Railroad matters.

Even if the question were free from difficulty as to the issue of bonds for yr. Road provided for by the late Convention, I do not think it would be prudent for the State

Tr., for the present, to take measures for issuing them. I regard it as entirely probable that we will be suspended before the job could be consummated. If the printing of the blanks be ordered, Mr. Battle's name, under existing laws, would be engraved, and he will probably be out of office before the work could be done. Holden is now gone to Washington and will probably succeed in getting amendments to the re-constructions acts as will lead to the immediate change of the State officers. The engraving and printing will cost a considerable sum and if the work should not be completed and the bonds issued before our successors come in they would be worthless. I decline to act in the matter, at least until the result of Mr. Holden's trip to Washington shall be known.

FAYETTEVILLE.

To D. R. Goodloe.

May 8th 1868.

I thank you for copy of your printed letter to Mr. Sumner. I have read it with much interest. I think you establish your main point by unanswerable logic—but with my notions of the principle which controls the present Congress, I cannot hope for immediate effect on that body.

Although I entirely dissent from your conclusion as to the adoption of the Howard amendment and the new State Constitution I regard your letter as in admirable contrast with the general discussions of these subjects.

RALEIGH.

To James R. Doolittle.[1]

May 11 1868.

As we have no representative in Congress you will ex- Reconstruction.
cuse my calling your attention to a matter specially affecting the people of North Carolina, springing from the action of Congress.

You will see that in one thing our new Constitution is free from any exception—to-wit; disfranchisement of the intelligence and wealth of the State:—but one of your sections of reconstructions acts has been construed to allow the election of a govr. for four years—a delegation to Congress judges for eight years—a General Assembly, etc. in which election all the disfranchised, under the Congressional legislation, say 15 or 20 thousand, had no voice, the result of which is about to be that for years the State is to be ruled, in its legislative, executive and judicial departments by officers not elected under *our* Constitution, but under an Act of Congress. All the officers holding and certifying such election being appointees of the military authority of the U. S. If Congress ratify our Constitution, they want to set aside the election of State officers, and order a new election in conformity with the new Constitution.

I regard all the so-called reconstruction legislation of Congress as unconstitutional, unstatesmanlike and unwise:—but surely when we have adopted a constitution in conformity with this legislation, Congress will allow us to elect our officers according to its provisions. Surely if the State Constitution be ratified, its future government ought to be by officers elected under the provisions of such Constitution.

I beg you to make an effort to set aside the election held under military auspices and congressional enactment, and

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[1] Member of the Senate from Wisconsin, and an ardent supporter of President Johnson. He was president of the National Union Convention of 1866.

allow us an election as provided for under our Constitution.

Under the influence of secret leagues, the intelligence of the State denied the right to vote—all required to vote on one ticket for or against the ratification of the new Constitution, and for members of the Genl. Assembly, members of Congress, judges, and County officers, it is easy to see that the election was controlled by caucus management. The result is that we have for Govr. one who was an original Secessionist, and who did more than any other North Carolinian to produce and foster the sectional alienation which has filled the nation with mourning; we have as one of the judges of our Supreme Court Mr. Rodman, a violent Secessionist who was a military judge in the Confederate army;—for another of said judges Mr. Dick, who was a member of our Convention which passed unanimously our ordinance of Secession—and for a third of said judges Mr. Settle, who entered the Confederate army as a Captain, and resigned when the contest waxed hot—And we have as one of our judges of Superior jurisdiction, A. W. Tourgee, said to have been a Captain of a Ohio Company in the U. S. army—who settled in this State after the close of the war—who has never had a license to practice law in this State, nor in any other State, so far as is known here. These are a few samples of the outrageous results of this mockery of an election. I do not give more because I would not weary you.

If our new Constitution, forced upon us by negro votes, and disfranchisement, and secret leagues, must be our fundamental law, is it possible that we are to be denied the privileges of electing our representatives and officers, according to the provisions of this Constitution?!!

Genl. Canby has issued an order or written a letter to Gov. Orr that if Congress do nothing in this interim, he will order the installation of the new State officers ten days after Congress shall have ratified our Constitutions.

I had supposed this would be deferred until the Howard amendment became a part of the Constitution.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer.

May 11 1868.

Concerning the new constitution.

You will have observed that in one thing the new Constitution of this State contrasts favorably with the Constitutions of most of the other Southern States. It disfranchises only those convicted for infamous crimes. This Constitution is ratified by the votes of those allowed to vote and is certified by the military authorities. It will doubtless be ratified by Congress. When so ratified is it not obvious that the officers of the State, its legislators, etc. who hold for long terms—Our members of Congress, members of the State Legislature and County officers are elected under military officers, at an election held under Congressional legislation, at which some 15,000 or 20,000 entitled to vote under this Constitution were denied the privilege. Is it possible that Congress will confirm this election? Is Holden our constitutional Governor, elected under military auspices, and not under the Constitution? Is Rodman, a military judge in our Confederate army, to be a judge of our Supreme Court for some eight or ten years—and Dick, who voted for Secession in our Convention of 1861—and Settle, who was a Confederate Captain until the war waxed warm, to be judges of the same Court, by an election at which at least 15,000 of our people were not permitted to vote—the poll-keepers being military appointees and the result of the election verified only by military certificates?

Genl. Canby has published a letter, stating, if Congress take no further action the new functionaries will be installed 10 days after Congress shall have ratified our Constitution.

I am nearly in despair—In fact can see no rational ground of hope for good government in this State at any early day—but if the late election were set aside and another election ordered under the new Constitution we would probably elect a more worthy set of officers.

I would not have my name appear in the papers touching this matter and submit this idea to you to suggest an editorial, if you deem it worth while.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To B. S. Hedrick.

May 11 1868.

Goodloe's letter to Sumner.

I have read with much interest Mr. Goodloe's letter to Mr. Sumner. His logick, on the main point, is answerable, save that I do not doubt that it was the purpose of Congress, that our rulers, for the present, should be men selected under the auspices of the military and under the rules of disfranchisement prescribed by Congress. They did not intend that our new Constitution should be operative for a few years, lest Radicalism should not be entirely dominant: and hence I have no hope that his argument will produce any results. For years partizanship has not allowed virtue, or honor, or respect for the Constitution to be in the way of the attainment of a party end: and hence I regard the hope that there may be virtue enough in a few Senators to acquit the President, in a case where there is no evidence against him, as absurd. It is understood the verdict will be rendered to-day. I entertain no doubt that he will be convicted, having lost all confidence in the virtue of our rulers.

In commending Mr. Goodloe's production, I must not be understood as approving his idea that we ought all to have voted for the Howard amendment or the new Constitution. Whatever ill betides us it is fit that some of us retain self respect. I go for neither until I can be convinced that it

is honorable and expedient to purchase favor by fawning. If there had been nothing else objectionable in the new Constitution, its provisions as to the Judiciary would have made me view it with horror. It is said we might hope to amend this and other objectionable features. I regard this hope as positively absurd. Nobody surrenders power. If there be any rational hope of future good government here it must be looked for in Revolution. At present the basis of our government is Ignorance. The dregs of society hereafter rule the State. I still hope (because I am naturally hopeful) that anarchy is not to supplant civilization, but I can give no reason for this hope.

My lamps are trimmed. I expect this Congress shamelessly to remove the disabilities of Holden, Rodman, Dick, Jenkins & Co. and to hold me, and others like me, who always desired to preserve the Union, unworthy of trust until we become Radicals which is now the only teste of Patriotism with the majority of Congress.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Editors of the New York World.

May 14 1868.

Concerning the new constitution.

You will have seen that the so-called Constitution of N. C. lately adopted exhibits in one particular unusual liberality on the part of our negroes and their allies. The 15,000 to 20,000 men, embracing nearly all the property and intelligence of the State, disfranchised by the late Disruption acts of Congress, are enfranchised—but one anomaly of our condition may have escaped your attention. Assume that our new constitution is duly framed and ratified and become our fundamental law. It makes the judiciary elective by the people, negroes and all, as well as the Governor and all the rest of the important officers of the State and counties. The Governor's term is raised from two to four years—the judges elected for 8 years—

but our Convention took care to cause the election for all the officers to be held, legislative, delegation to Congress and all, under the auspices of the military authority of the U. S. which denied this right of suffrage to this 15,000 to 20,000 disfranchised men. So we are, under our new Constitution, to have a governor, Legislature, judges, delegation in Congress, etc., not elected under the provisions of our fundamental law, but by poll-keepers appointed by Genl. Canby. They can have no evidence of their election but his certificate, and we are to be ruled over for years by officers not elected under our fundamental law.

Under Genl. Canby's orders each voter was required to vote on one ticket for all the officers, executive, judicial, legislative, Congressional and County, whereby each ticket embraced some 50 names. There is not one voter in 100 in the State who can tell the names of *all* or over one half of the men he voted for. The fitness of the persons voted for was not considered. A caucus nominated the candidates, and the Loyal Leagues and Freeman's Bureau officers settled on the names to be chosen and the poor negroes, ignorant whites and followers of the office seekers voted the ticket placed in their hands for the purpose.

All honest men view with loathing these officers thus elected. A sample of the higher officers elected are—Holden—whose record you know—and Rodman, a strong Secessionist and military judge in the Confederate army, —Dick, who voted the State out of the Union in 1861—Settle, who went into the Confederate army as a Captain and resigned when the contest waxed hot—these three are elected judges of the Supreme Court, on account of their present devotion to the negro. These are some of the least exceptionable men appointed to rule over us under the mockery of an election.

I have made this hastily written letter longer than I intended. My intention was simply to call your attention to the anomily, that the officers of our new government are not elected in pursuance of its provisions but by military authority and under military supervision.

I intend these as mere suggestions, but not for publication over my name.

To James T. Morehead.

May 15th 1868.

It would be interesting to know what amount of the County and State taxes were paid last year by the members of our late Convention and by the members of the Genl Assembly shortly to assemble. Will you furnish me this information for your County? If you cannot answer before I go out of office, please answer afterwards.

I would like to have the same information as to each of our members elect to Congress.

GREENSBORO.

Copy sent to each County.

To B. S. Hedrick.

May 17 1868.

I am more at leisure in this transition state of governmental affairs than I have been at any time since I assumed the Gubernatorial robe, and hence find time to answer yours of the 14th inst.

Defense of President Johnson.

You remark that "Johnson has so acted towards the men who elected him, that they are as hostile against him as they could well be."

If the understanding be that the nominee of a party is thereafter to conform to the *new* principles his party may avow, and that he is to be deemed a traitor if he adhere to the principles he had avowed before such election,—and if his personal convictions of duty are thereafter to conform to the will of those who elected him: Johnson is a sinner and deserves the denunciation to which you refer:

but if, *after* election, he may honestly stand by the principles he had avowed *before* said election, Johnson is guiltless.

He has stood *firmly* by his ante election and well known principles. His party has changed its principles. If he was honorably bound to surrender the keeping of his conscience *after* election to those who elected him, he is justly obnoxious to the hatred to which you refer. If he was justifiable in standing firm by his ante-election principles, he is still entitled to retain his self-esteem and the respect of mankind. If it was his duty to make the convictions of his understanding and conscience bend to the variant resorts of his party, he is the just subject of hatred. I hold that no one deserving the appelation of *a man,* is required or will submit to put his conscience in the keeping of others. I read with pride Johnson's speeches immediately preceding and in the early stages of the war. I regarded him then as a pariot, and I regard him now as a patriot, in adhering to them, and I abhor the partizans who "hate" him for manly adherence to his principles.

It is so plain that it is not a debatable question among *honest* men, that no evidence has been adduced furnishing *colorable* ground of impeachment against the President, and that the House of Representatives were so conscious of this, that the prominent managers were selected to conduct the prosecution, not on account of legal learning and personal probity, but because of their eminence in bullyism.

If the further attempt to continue this inquisition and persecution be countenanced, it will prove that all virtue is lost.

Although Fessenden and other Republicans who voted against the impeachment performed only a duty which common honesty required, we have reached a period in human affairs when the nerve to be honest, is so rare, that we are disposed to accord to them brilliant renown. Moral obliguity and turpitude have become so common—

we are so familiarized with them that common honesty commands fervid gratitude.

I would not be understood as claiming more virtue for one set of politicians than another. Partizan rage North and South, has been heretofore and is now, entirely regardless of moral rectitude.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To H. J. Harris.

May 20th 1868.

Yours of the 18th inst. is to hand.

In view of the extreme uncertainty resting on my official existence, I perceive no means of serving you officially.

If, in a few days, as now seems probable, new officers are to be installed in whose election some 15,000 or 20,000 have been denied the right to vote, who are entitled to vote under the present new Constitution, it would seem injurious, rather than beneficial, for me to interfere.

TRINITY COLLEGE, N. C.

To C. K. Lenow.

RALEIGH N. C. *May 22/68.*

I cannot answer your inquiry of 22 Jan. last. I can refer you to two instances, the one State vs. John Hoover, 1839, where a master was convicted for the murder of his slave—and the judgment of the Superior Court confirmed by the Supreme Court. Devereux & Battle's Law Reports Vols. 3 and 4th page 365. The other State vs. Christopher Robins—1855 Jones' Law Reports page 249. In both these cases the Supreme Court confirms the decision of the Court below, condemning the master for the murder of his slave. I suppose the convicts were exe-

cuted, but do not know—will ascertain and report hereafter. I know that public sentiment here would always have required conviction in such a case where the proof justified conviction. Of course *few instances* of wanton depravity would occur where a man would destroy his own property.

If these criminals were not executed our Courts are not responsible. When I ascertain I will report whether they were executed—and if not, why they escaped.

There may be instances of a conviction of a master for the murder of his slave. I do not remember others and have not time to make much inquiry. The moral sense of the people of this State would always have revolted at the murder of a dependent slave by his master, and juries would have as readily convicted as in any other class of murder.

You will find in your State library, or other appropriate department, the cases to which I refer, the reading of which will show you the axioms of our Courts and juries touching said cases.

New York City.

To S. S. Jackson.

Raleigh *May 22/68.*

I inclose $5. to pay for vinegar and keg, which cost $4.50. You do not give the cost of delivery at High Pt. I suppose 50 cents will cover it.

When you again have occasion to send us any thing by R. R., let it come by freight. The Express Co. charged me $1.25 for this keg. The freight train would have delivered it as safely and expeditiously at much less cost.

I am quite at sea as to when Holden is to take my place —but presume it will be very soon.

Asheboro.

To Dr. J. Jackson.

RALEIGH, *May 22/68.*

I believe the Conservatives elected to office pay much more tax than the Destructives, and my purpose is to exhibit the contrast—and to show that the poor devils, now made our rulers, have little interest in the well being of the State, so far as property is concerned.

I have furnished your name to Mr. Badger. If the new officers shall be installed under Genl. Canby's orders, I suppose you will be required to take the iron-clad. If Congress act further in the matter nobody can guess at their action with any degree of certainty. The Supreme Court of the U. S. has held this iron-clad oath to be unconstitutional and that Court, though demoralised, is not yet annihilated. I would so act as not to surrender my legal rights, should it turn out that any legal rights will be recognized by the powers that be. I regard the late election as unconstitutional and absurd. Not a civil officer of State has been elected by the electors entitled to vote under the new Constitution and not one can establish his election save by military certificate—but it is not possible to know where the revolution is to end nor what is to be the practical result of present legislation.

WHITESVILLE.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH, *May 22 1868.*

We have taken no pains to show the contrast by antecedents, between the men elected in 1865 and this year, for the reason that the Republican party has no respect for union antecedents. The only thing they respect is *present* adherence to Radicalism. By this teste the comparison you indicate would bring us into much greater disfavor. The men of 1865 were generally noble, patri- Radical methods.

otic, Union men—Those of 1868 are generally ignoble inferior men having no moral principle. The men of 1865, almost universally, hate Radicalism, as all good constitutional Union men do. The latter, of whom Holden and Butler are fair specimens,—shout for Radicalism—and are embraced by Sumner, Wilson, *et id omne genus.* I may appeal to my whole life to show my devotion to the Union, unless my yielding to the powers that were during the Rebellion, always ready to see the Union restored and never pretending to the contrary, be absurdly held an exception—but Sumner, Wilson and every other Republican find no difficulty in removing the disabilities of Holden while not one of them would place me on the same footing. They are mere partizans, not patriots. I have lost all confidence in their virtue and honor. I always detested, as I do now, every thing tending to produce sectional alienation. Hence I abhorred Secessionism, and equally abhor Republicanism, as exhibited by reconstruction Legislation.

If Congress, when they white wash Holden, would white-wash me, as his late rival and presenting Union record infinitely better, I should give them credit for *some* honesty.

Neither Tourgee or Heaton paid any County or State tax last year. The great body of the Convention and the Radical members of the Genl Assembly, paid next to no tax for the support of the State whose guardians they are made, under Loyal League and negro suffrage. I am collecting authentic information on this matter and will publish it, when complete. Enough is now ascertained to show that the new order of things ignores those whose industry and prudence have given them interest in the preservation of the fruits of industry, and gives the helms of State to the worthless carpet bagger. This is the natural sequent of universal negro suffrage.

Washington, D. C.

From Rev. Job Berry (colored) to General Canby.

HILLSBORO No. CA. *May 25 1868.*

Genl. Canbay Honard Sir

I now sit down to ask a favor of you if you please. Asking aid for his son.

My sone was taken from me when he was about 10 years old. I being a Slave therefore I had no control over him. He was haired of from home at the close of the war. At the close of the war he went to Wilmington No. Ca quite a youth. And there he got in-to bad company, was led astray and was put in prison for five months before his trial. And beaing convicted he was sent to the work house for 2 years. He has bin there for about nine months. He was at first the body servant of the Hon. Judge Nash of Hillsboro. He has been a good boy and of a good charactar. But after the death of the Judge he was hireard out in the country and got with the wild rapling low class boys in the county that he got out of a greate many of his old study and going to church ways in fact theare was not a church in 6 or 10 miles of the place that he was haired. Deare Ser you know how rouning it is to boys to be a way from theare parents so long from 10 to the age of 19. He will be 21 one years old this July and he is my oldest sone and the only one with a trade he is a good carpenter.

I am getting advance in years and my wife are afflicted. I have a family of 10 children but by the help of God I am trying to live I wrote to Wilmington to try to get him bailed, it was $200. to get him out but I have not got the money so by the help of God nowing that he is in your hands and if you will releace him and let him come home to me I will try by the help of God to keep him withe me for I need his help. If you wish to know my charecter you will be so kind as to apply to Hon Hugh D. Waddell of Wilmington he raised me from a boy my poor boy have been sufring so long I think that he will learn a lesson to stay at home My deare Sir I hope that the Lord will enable you to consider my great disstress hoping to heare

from you very soon. May the Lord bless you and keep you it is my prayers. I am sir your humble servant

P. S. My sons name are Marcellus P. Berry.

To William P. Fessenden.[1]

RALEIGH, *May 26th 1867.*

Discussing conditions in the State.

The high regard I have always had for your character as a statesman and your recent exhibition of conscientiousness on the impeachment question, as N. C. is unrepresented in Congress, are my only warrant in calling your attention to a matter of the gravest important to us. It would be useless to get a member acting in the minority to interpose in our behalf. Believing, notwithstanding the unjust obloquy now heaped upon you, that you wish to act justly and patriotically and to rest your claims for future renown upon these elevated grounds, I lay before you what I deem awful grievances to the people of N. C. which can be remedied only by Congress.

The reconstruction measures of Congress profess to have in view the establishment of a *Civil* Government in these States, looking alike to the *general* welfare and the future well-being of the States now excluded from participation in National legislation. I assume this is the sincere purpose of Congress.

Under this plan the State has formed a new Constitution. Is it not manifest that this new State Government ought to be administered by officers chosen in pursuance of its provisions?

Under Art 6 sec. 1 of this Constitution, a large class of our people who are denied the right to vote under these reconstruction Acts, are enfranchised. This class em-

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[1] Former Secretary of the Treasury and at this time a Senator from Maine. He was Chairman of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction.

braces at least 15,000—perhaps 20,000 of our citizens, owning most of the property and comprising the chief intelligence of the State.

The new Constitution entitles this class to a voice in the State Government, but the Convention directed that the election of a Governor for four years, Judges for eight years, members of the General Assembly, members of Congress, and all our other inferior officers, State and County, should be elected under the present *Military* Government of the State, those only being allowed to vote who were registered by the Military in pursuance of Congressional legislation. Not one of the State or County officers, whose duty it will be to carry out the new State Government, can show any other evidence of his election, save the certificate of Genl. Canby. If you sanction our new Constitution, is it possible you will put this new Government in operation by officers not elected by the electors entitled to vote under its provisions?!!!

I cannot suppose it possible that Congress can approve such an anomaly—not to say absurdity.

This election was held by general ticket for Governor, Judges and other State officers and each voter was required to vote on *the same ticket* for members of Congress, Solicitors of the Judicial Circuits, members of the General Assembly and County officers. I inclose the orthodox ticket for this County to show how this election was conducted. This was the caucus ticket. I do not believe that one in 100 of the voters—even the white voters—can tell the *names* (much less the fitness, of the State officers for whom he voted: and not one in one thousand can tell the names of all the candidates for whom he voted. Is not this a mockery of Republican Government.

It is claimed that the restoration of the Union and the establishment of good government was the object of this election.

It is notorious that Mr. Holden, by the *Standard* newspaper which he edited, advocated Secession and that he

did more than any other citizen of the State to alienate our citizens against the Union.

He was a member of our Convention of 1861 and voted for the ordinance of Secession and gloried in that vote and for years reviled the prominent Union men of the North. When the tide of battle turned against the South, he changed his tone, not for the restoration of the Union, but for "*peace and independence.*" When the war was over he claimed to be a par excellence Union man—succeeded in getting the President to make him Prov. Governor and for a time exhausted his powers of panageric on the President and his policy.

At the election for Governor in 1865 the real Union men of the State, who never did and who never will vote for Holden, induced me to run against him. It was well known I had always opposed Secession—that as a Senator I had voted against the call of a Convention even in May 1861, after war had actually begun, and although I afterwards co-operated with the South: it was well known that I desired at all times that hostilities should cease on the basis of the Constitution of the U. S. The strong Union counties of the State gave me large majorities—and very many ultra-sessionists preferred me to one who had formerly acted with them and then turned upon and reviled his old political friends. I was elected by a very large majority; and re-elected in 1866, without opposition—the first instance of the election of a Governor by the people of this State without opposition. I refer to this because Mr. Holden and a great majority of the Northern press have always pretended that my election was a *secession* triumph—whereas it was a *Union* triumph. This is but incidental. If I should succeed in awakening your attention to my main purpose, and you should for any reason desire to know more of Mr. Holden, or of me, I beg to refer you to B. S. Hedrick of the U. S. Patent Office, an honest man who knows all about both of us.

As soon as it appeared that the Congressional policy was

likely to prevail over the President's he turned upon and reviled him and extolled Congress. His latest demonstration is his lying and foolish telegram published in the *Chronicle,* that *Civil war* here would be the result of the acquittal of the President.

This is a rapid sketch of our *Civil Governor,* elected under *Military* authority, whom you are called upon to white-wash and prepare for the wearing of his official robe.

Wm. B. Rodman, elected a Judge of the Supreme Court, was an ultra Secessionist and during the war a Military Judge in the Confederate Army, carrying out our Conscript laws. These are two conspicuous instances, of which there are many minor ones, where new born fervor in favor of the Union is rewarded by high office, to the utter disgust of all *real* Union men in this State, of respectable intelligence.

Of the men elected to high office, few have any important interest in the well-being of the State; for instance A. W. Tourgee, of the U. S. Army, who settled or rather stopped in the State, after the war, is elected a Judge of the Superior Court of law. *He has never practised law in this State nor had a license to practice.* I have been unable to ascertain that he ever had a license to practise in the Courts of Superior jurisdiction in any other State. He has not listed or paid one red cent of County or State tax in the County, Guilford, in which he claims citizenship.

Heaton and French elected members of Congress were both late members of the Radical Convention, both recent squatters among us, did not pay a dime last year towards the expenses of the State Government or County police—including support of the poor. Results of like character might be enumerated ad infinitum—all the results of universal negro suffrage, Loyal Leagues, the Freeman's Bureau and disfranchisement of the substantial population. In the list of persons elected are very many notoriously conspicuous for bringing on the war, negro traders, men

who opposed not only negro suffrage, but were also opposed to allowing them to testify. Most remarkable is the contrast between the result of this election and that held under the orders of the President in 1865. In the election of 1865 *every* person elected to Congress, *every* one of our eleven Judges and the Governor elect, always conscientiously opposed Secession. After war was actually inaugurated and they were compelled to take sides in the conflict, they co-operated with the South. The converts from Secession to Radicalism here embrace the meanest of their party—but I am amplifying much more than I intended. If our new Constitution is to be ratified by Congress, in the name of Justice I beg that Congress annul the elections held under Military authority and allow us to elect our rulers under our fundamental law. If we are to have Civil Government let the officers who are to carry it out, be men elected in pursuance of its provisions.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To David Worth.

May 26 1868.

Your late letter is received.

Opinions of the new government.

I regard a pretended *civil* government not one officer of which can prove his office save by Genl. Canby's certificate —and in whose election some 15,000 or 20,000 of our people, entitled to vote under this new Constitution, were denied this right, as coming exactly up to what a common sense old friend of mine, calls *"compound nonsense."*

The judges for eight years—The Govr. for four—and every County and State officer is to hold his office under an election managed by the *military* authority and in which the great body of our people, having property and intelligence, were not allowed a voice, is a fair specimen of *"compound nonsense"* and shameless villiany.

When the great mass of grown up men,—white and black—are asked by one general ticket to elect their judges

for *limited* periods; and not one in one hundred can tell *who* he voted for—much less his fitness to fill the office,—and protection to character, property and life is mere matter of chance—but I can't dwell on these matters—Executive duties, though I am soon to give place to my successor, crowd upon me.

If you were to leave North Carolina in the hope of better government elsewhere, to what State or government would you go? If you sacrifice the fruits of years of toil, are you sure you will better your condition? Mankind has always been plunging into war and other foolery. If you lived in a community where there were many negroes, I would advise you to fly. It will be a long time before they perish out; and there can be no property where they exist in large numbers. They have always been savages and drones in a free state and human reason can judge of the future only by the past. In view of your age—the comforts around you and the small number of *black* negroes around you, I advise you to remain where you are. It cannot be long before *white* negroes come to their senses.

JEFFERSON.

To C. K. Lenow.

RALEIGH. *May 29 1868.*

I have information from the Sheriffs of the Counties in which Hoover and Robins were convicted for the murder of their slaves, that both of them were duly hanged. I have found these cases because they were reviewed by the Supreme Court and the evidence is indubitable. Doubtless inquiry would disclose other cases. Depravity has never got such hold here that our Courts and juries would not hang a man guilty of murdering his slave as soon as any other murdered.

NEW YORK CITY.

To W. L. Springs.

June 1 1868.

Our late so called Convention caused only a few copies of their Constitution to be printed in pamphlet form, those few copies were sent only to the faithful, being accompanied by an address to the people by a committee of their body urging the ratification. Not a single copy of this was sent to me. I cannot furnish you, therefore, with a copy of the instrument, unless I can find an old news-paper containing it. Not $\frac{1}{10}$ of those who voted to ratify it had read it or heard it read. It is a disgrace to modern politics that the people are to be governed by a constitution, purporting to be ratified by them, when four-fifths of those by whose votes it was ratified, could not have read it, if they had been furnished a copy, and when not one in twenty of them was furnished a copy. By order of Genl Canby, each voter was required to vote on *one ticket* for or against the Constitution *and for all the State and County officers.* I send you a ticket. This enabled the Loyal Leaguers to put a ticket in the hands of each of the faithful. There is not one man in one hundred, even of the white voters; and not one in ten thousand of the negro voters, who can give the names of the persons for whom he voted. Such a government cannot long be respected—and I therefore recommend that you make no investment in our securities, based on the action of the Convention. While the Constitution makes the wholesome provision that the Legislature shall provide for paying the State debt, the same body authorized the issue of some five millions of State bonds, in aid of sundry works of Internal improvement, which bonds they knew would be sold by the several companies at about half their face. They did not contemplate their payment. No debtor who promises to pay a dollar for fifty cents, intends to pay.

At no distant day I hope and believe, that all the re-

construction acts and the doings of State Conventions called in pursuance of this unconstitutional act and devilish legislation, will be wiped out by returning national sanity.

My opinion is that investments in our State stocks, especially in the bonds issued under the ordinance of our late Convention, are very insecure.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

To B. S. Hedrick.

RALEIGH, N. C. *June 2nd 1868.*

I go to Chapel Hill to-day with Gov. Seymour of Conn., who is to deliver the address before the Societies—and cannot find time to carry out your sensible suggestion in your letter to Major Bagley—that I present my views of a Constitution for North Carolina, looking to what is practicable and to national government. Political matters.

If I had time to carry out your suggestion I would make our old Constitution the basis. It looked to the protection of the non-property holder, by allowing every male, white or black, of the age of 21 years, the right to vote for a member of the Commons—provided he had paid a public tax—proving he had *any* interest in the well-being of society.

The voters and members of the Senate were required to own a certain quantity of lands, agriculture being the great interest of the State. As the concurrence of both branches of the General Assembly was essential to the enactment of law, this scheme protected the two great elements of loyalty—the property, and the non-property holder. I can never cease to admire this evidence of wisdom in the formation of our first Constitution.

Had I the time to carry out your suggestion, I would make our old Constitution the basis and would not

repine one minute. I would prefer that a tax of $5. on real-estate paid a year in advance of the election should be substituted for 50 acres of land, as a qualification of an elector for the Senate; and that a tax of $20.00 paid one year in advance of an election, to qualify a man to be elected a Senator. But, I would be content, if deemed more practical just now, with the exact provisions of the old Constitution.

The universal suffrage principle, for both branches of the law-making power, I regard as undermining civilization.

I would embrace the ordinances of our Convention of 1865, abolishing slavery—and, if necessary to make the scheme practical, the provision abolishing the war debt.

This scheme would protect the recently emancipated slave. He would be placed on the same footing with white men. His rights would be fully protected by the House of Commons—and the Senate would protect the great Agricultural interests of the State.

To make any scheme practical, it should conform, as near as possible, to our established idea of government. No people will readily yield to numerous and important innovations on their ancient laws and customs.

Such an exhibition of respect for the government established by our wise and patriotic ancestors would reconcile our people to Republicanism. The present plans will result in settled sectional hatred and damage to all the people.

If there be the slightest ground to hope that party rage has so far subsided that the voice of reason may be heard, I would most gladly go to Washington, and confer with Republicans as to a compromise on the above basis. I infer, from your suggestion, that you think some rational compromise could be effected. If any be practicable I do not doubt that I might contribute essentially to effect such result and would willingly go to Washington to add my mite. The Government being established for this

State is so utterly absurd, that no rational man can look to that quiet submission to it, essential to the well-being of Society—and it is scarcely possible that the Republican party can long survive on its present policy.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Joshua L. Lee.

RALEIGH. *June 3 1868.*

Yr. package of N. C. Treas. notes came to hand this morning. I am sorry to say to you that you have been misinformed. Nothing can be realised from them at present.

Comrs. were appointed under an act of the last Genl. Assembly to investigate and report, what indebtedness of the State contracted during the war, ought to be paid under the ordinances of the Convention of 1865. They submitted a report, recommending the payment of certain debts—but there has been no session of the Assembly since the making of the report, and consequently even if the report should propose to pay a part of your notes, it will not avail you until ratified by a future Genl Assembly. It will be worth while to preserve your notes—but I fear you will never get any thing for them. How shall I return them to you? You had better get some one passing to call for them and not pay express charges on them.

Give my kindest regards to Mrs. Kendall. I should be truly glad to see her.

THOMASVILLE.

To Andrew Johnson.

June 5th 1868.

Reccmmending B. S. Hedrick.

I see there has been no appointment made of Commissioners of Patents—and feeling that N. Carolina might

well claim some additional recognition, at the hands of the Government, in the way of appointments, I again take the liberty of suggesting and recommending to you for this appointment, Prof. B. S. Hedrick, of this State, holding at present the position of Examiner in that office. Prof. H. is a gentleman and a scholar of high scientific attainments, and would in every way honor the position. He is a Republican, bitterly opposed to Holden, and not, I am sure, unfriendly to you. I should feel highly gratified if you could find it consistent with the public interests to nominate him to the Senate.

To C. B. Mallett.

RALEIGH *June 10th 1868.*

Yours of the 8th inst. is just received.

I am grievously perplexed as to the issue of bonds for sundry works of Int. improvement reported to have been authorised by ordinances of the late Convention. I say *"reported"* because I cannot see the ordinances. They are not filed in the office of the Sec. of State. I hear that they provide that the bonds ordered shall be signed by the Govr. and Treasr—but does this mean the present *"so called"* Govr. and Treas.—or the incoming "loyal" officers?

The Pub. Tr., Judge Pearson, and, as I understand, the lawyers generally hold that none of these ordinances have any validity until Congress shall ratify the Constitution, unless they be ratified by Genl. Canby.

I am *now in nubibus* and quite dizzy:—will try to recover my vision soon—and if I decide to sign the Chatham bonds will order the preparation of yours without delay.

FAYETTEVILLE.

To B. W. Ives.

June 12 1868.

Yours of the 9th inst. is received asking me to use my official influence to release you from imprisonment under a decision of a Court martial in time of peace, you being a civilian.

As to the merits of your case I know nothing excepting what you represent:—and I cannot, *simply upon your representation,* interfere. It is not probable that I could quicken the attention of the Federal authorities to your grievance even if you presented a proper case for my interposition. I think you have no reason to hope, save in the return of the nation to sanity. There is good reason to hope for this.

MOREHEAD CITY.

To Charles A. Eldridge.

June 15 1868.

Outlining conditions in the State.

I infer from Congressional proceedings that the government of this State is shortly to be placed under the control of a set of officers disgusting to nearly all our people having property or reasonable intelligence. That the negro vote, consolidated by secret societies, with the co-operation of a few meaner whites, with the aid of Genl. Canby's general ticket order, elected nearly all the State officers and about two-thirds of the Legislature. About all the Radicals elected as State officers, and probably a majority, (excluding negroes) elected as members of the Genl. Assembly, are excluded by the provisions of the Howard amendment and the iron-clad oath. They are expecting a dispensation, by act of Congress. Without such act their Govr. and Judges and most of their members of the Legislature, Sheriffs Clerks, etc could not qualify. Will it not be well to offer an amendment granting the *same dispensation to all* persons elected?

Nearly all the respectability of the Senate belongs to the one-third of Anti-Radicals. If they are excluded (I presume not one of them would take the iron-clad oath) then two thirds of the Assembly will adopt the Howard amendment—etc.—etc. Is it the policy to give rope to these red Republicans? We would like to have a few conservatives to watch their motions. If a general provision be not adopted granting dispensation to *all* who have been elected, we shall not have a conservative member in the Assembly, so far as I know.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Addison Coffin.

June 15 1868.

Yours of the 8th inst. is received, for which please accept my thanks.

The Radicals in and out of the State have kept up such a constant succession of lies to make the impression at the North, that we are a set of devils here that I long since despaired of being able to counteract their malice, trusting to time to correct the evil—and *sure* of one thing—namely conscious rectitude. I have ever been ready and am still ready to vindicate the Quakers, and only regret to find many of them now sustaining such villians as Holden because he professes now to be radical and he has obtained favor with the negroes and dominant power of the nation by propagating the lie to which you refer and thousand others less pardonable.

ANNO, IOWA.

To William A. Graham.

June 16 1868.

Asking advice as to how to avoid removal.

What remedy is there for the villainous government imposed on us? There is no ground to hope that the new

Constitution can be amended excluding universal negro suffrage, at any early day, if at all, under the provisions of 13th Art. of said Constitution. Once the new State government is put in operation, even if the Supreme Court of U. S. should in some case decide the re-construction acts unconstitutional, I do not see how we are to get the benefit of such decision, all the offices of the State being filled by men elected under this new Constitution. So far as I know or have heard no further effort is contemplated to obstruct the new order of things, but I do not know of any sufficient reason for despairing of relief from the Supreme Court of the U. S. *Personally* I prefer to retire, but I shrink from no responsibility which duty imposes. When Holden shall demand of me to vacate, would you advise that I yield to the demand, with or without protest—or that I refuse to yield to it with the view of raising the question as to the constitutionality of the law under which he claims to be elected? Could I get up the question by such refusal? If put under arrest I have no idea that any of our judiciary would relieve me on habeas corpus? I think Brooks would probably find ways to avoid action. I do not know whether I could ask Judge Chase for a Writ of Habeas Corpus, he not being in the State at the time, but suppose I could not. I would be glad to have your views touching these matters.

HILLSBORO.

To C. B. Mallett.

RALEIGH, *June 18 1868.*

Yours of the 15th inst. is received.

I presume Holden will oust me about the 1 July. I don't understand a proclamation based on an act of Congress, which is not yet an act—but do understand, that, backed by the military, he may do what he pleases.

I think he will cause the bonds to issue to your Road.

I feel personal relief at the prospect of getting clear of my anomalous responsibilities but grieve that such villains as Holden and his co-adjutors are made helmsmen for the good old ship of State.

FAYETTEVILLE.

To Edward Coningland.

June 22 1868.

Besides the difficulties you suggest as to the appointment of a judge to hold a Court of Oyer and Terminer, is the expected transition of the State government, in which case it might be held that the appointee could not hold the Court under my Commission. In view of this difficulty I have regarded it inexpedient, to limit myself to Mitchell and Buxton, now judges, and who will be judges under the new regime—and also to consult Holden to know whether he will confirm my appointment, in case he be inaugurated before the day which the judge may appoint for the holding of the Court. He answers that he will confirm my appointment if the Genl Assembly interpose no obstacles. I send a Commission to Judge Mitchell to hold the Court, and have notified him of your suggestion that he fix on the 1st Monday of July as the time when the Court will be opened. You know the judge appoints the day.

HALIFAX.

To H. G. Leisering.

June 30 1868.

Character of new officials.

Soon after you left I got a few of the Radical tickets for the ratification of the State Constitution and election of State and County officers. I inclose one.

This election was held by poll-keepers appointed by Genl. Canby. I officially asked him to appoint one man

to be designated by the party opposed to the ratification of the Constitution to supervise and see the votes counted at each precinct. He declined to grant my request. Many of the poll keepers were candidates.

Three of the members elect to Congress, French, Heaton and Deweese, are carpet baggers and did not pay a cent of tax for State or County purposes last year.

Menninger and Ashley are carpet baggers, having no interest in the well-being of State. Coleman stands indicted in his County, Cabarrus, for an attempt to commit a rape on a negro woman, the wife of a negro. Jenkins was a negro trader. Rodman was a violent Secessionist and served as military judge in the Confederate army. Dick was a member of the Convention which voted that State out of the Union. Settle was a Captain in the Confederate army—who resigned his commission when the fight waxed hot—E. G. Reade was a Senator in the Confederate Congress. Most of the elected Judges of the Supr. Courts are men without reputation as lawyers—and Tourgee—carpet bagger—never practised law in this State—or elsewhere, so far as is known here.

Philadelphia, Pa.

To General Canby.

Raleigh *July 2nd 1868.*

I know of no principle of Constitutional law which restrains a State from taxing the income of its citizens, no matter from what source derived. I think a law taxing specially income derived from U. S. bonds would be unconstitutional, as placing the State in antagonism to the United States.

I am unable to refer you to any adjudication touching this point, but entertain no doubt to the right of the State *to* tax the *general* income of a citizen, including income derived from untaxable U. S. bonds and all other sources.

I do not know whether you expect an answer from you, since you removed me from office, but answer for what it may be worth.

To J. P. Andrews.

RALEIGH. *July 4th 1868.*

Declining to take part in Fourth of July celebration.

Major Bagley informed me yesterday evening that you had mentioned to him that it was desirable to you to know whether I accepted your invitation to join in the ceremonies of this National Anniversary. It had not occurred to me that you expected an answer to your invitation.

I would most willingly have joined in the proposed ceremonies if satisfied that the proceedings contemplated held no connection with partizan politics. The inquiries I have made have led me to believe that the prominent features in the programme of the day are intended rather as a party ovation, than the celebration of a National epoch, and being unwilling to desecrate the day by connecting its festivities with party passion and feeling I decline to accept your invitation.

RALEIGH.

To John Baxter.

RALEIGH, *July 13 1868.*

* * * * * * *

Hurrah for Seymour and Blair. Believing that it is always expedient to do right I would have preferred the nomination of Andrew Johnson and J. Q. Adams, but will support with zeal any body opposed to Radicalism. Gov. Holden is still himself. He appoints Genl. Laflin, a miserable carpet bag fop without property or intelligence and no sympathy with us, to represent N. C.'s in-

terest in N. C. R. Rs. All his nominations are characteristic.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

To Frank B. Goddard.

RALEIGH, N. C. *July 13th 1868.*

Giving information about North Carolina.

Yours of the 10th inst. addressed to me as Gov. of N. C. finds me disrobed of office under the military power exercised by the fraction of the Congress, contemplated by the Constitution of the U. S., and I am in some doubt whether you desire the letter from me, or the Gentleman now claiming to be Govr. of N. C. If my answer which I inclose shall not serve your purpose, you can cast it aside and ask Govr. Holden to supply the information desired.

The partizan representation which foreigners or Yankees who come to settle among us as permanent citizens, where they treat us respectfully and do not make it too conspicuous that they come among us to seek the offices, and to rule over us by catering to the prejudices and passions of the poor negro, is a slander on us. In every locality in the State we receive with hospitable cordiality every worthy immigrant who comes to settle among us. The best of our people detest the professing Generals, Colonels, etc. who pay no taxes here but get into the best offices by the votes of the negroes and our base natives who seek office by the same ignoble means. The bona fide settler who comes here to improve his condition and thus benefit the State is every where received with cordiality.

The delightful and healthy climate, the fertility and cheapness of our lands, our inviting mineral resources and the universal anxiety of the majority of our people to have immigrants come among us to improve and develop our resources are thus far unproductive—few immigrants come here, because partizan representations have

made the false impression that we are a set of savages. North Carolina can boldly challenge comparison of her statisticks of crime and the purity of her judiciary and other civil institutions, as primarily continued, with any other State of America, or any other Country. It would be untrue to represent that the great body of our population is content with our government [*Line illegible*] in which every [*illegible*] purporting to be a *civil* government. The Govr. of the State holds his commission from a Major Genl of the U. S. Army. Such is the case now from the Governor downwards.

We have seven members of Congress. Three of them—French, Heaton and Deweese, found their way here since the war as professing officers of the U. S. Not one of them contributed a dime last year in support of the State government or the poor. We hope this state of political affairs which places government in the hands of the ignorant and ignoble, will be corrected. If this shall happen, I doubt whether any clime can be found offering more attractions to an honest and industrious immigrant than North Carolina.

The State has a University at which were educated Thos. H. Benton, James K. Polk, and many others who have held high places in the Government service. A Lunatick and Deaf and Dumb Asylum admirably conducted up to this time, with spacious and commodious buildings. The present dominant party here suspended the operations of the University, removed the supt. of the asylum for lunatics, and changed the Directory of all these institutions, hitherto under the discretion of the best educated and most virtuous of our population, and put in power over them mere partizans, among them a recent immigrant negro—every one of them distinguished, not for learning and probity, but for zeal as a Radical.

A truthful exhibit of all the facts tending to enlighten those who may think of settling in this State, demands,

as I think, this exposition of our political condition, but if you deem it expedient you may omit this part of my narrative.

The two printed documents I send you, both prepared under my auspices, may be relied on as entirely authentic.

Any amount of land, in the sandy portion of the State, which is peculiarly suitable for the culture of the scuppernong grape—and which is generally very salubrious, may be bought at from $1. to $2. per acre.

NEW YORK CITY.

To W. M. Robbins.

RALEIGH *July 16 1868.*

I send you a report which I made to the Legislature in 1867 and request you to read it. It was submitted at a time of great political excitement and about the close of the session and received little or no attention.

It contained a report upon the facts set forth touching the interest of the State in the C. F. and Deep River project. The report was that the whole interest of the State had been sold [*illegible*] transferred to the Deep River transportation Co. [*Several lines are here illegible.*] It was a deed signed only by Govr. Vance and myself. The facts of its not being signed by our Directory [*Several lines are illegible*]. Nothing was left except the machinery of two [*illegible*], a pump at Wilmington and the decayed locks, etc. [*illegible*]. The pump, which cost $1250.; and for the storage of which an enormous bill is accumulated, and the franchise of the boats still belong to the Co. I had no authority to do any thing with them.

As the base of all the lines remains firm, I thought the franchise ought to be sold. If it brought only a nominal sum and the main line was perfected; much benefit would result to the State—and I had reason to hope that

the northern proprietors of the Egypt Coal mine with others whom they might operate upon might buy the franchise, and perfect the navigation. It is worth trying, and as the work is not likely to be forwarded by the State and in its present condition is not only worthless but a nuisance.

These fragments of State property—the pump and the boat engine are worth nothing. Nobody has now any control over them.

But the main idea of the report was the development of the Iron and Coal of Deep River by locating a penitentiary there. The principal idea was to make the dam the State had built avail them in construction of the Penitentiary. [*Line illegible.*] R. R. would employ the convicts in excavating the coal and iron ore and in melting up and in manufacturing the iron ore. The feasibility of the idea, then altogether theoretical, has been confirmed by subsequent information, as to the practicability of employing convicts.

After the date of this report I sent the State Geologist to examine the state of the land, the prospects of coal and iron and the most eligible site for a penetentiary to carry out my views. His written report on file represents Lockville, as the most eligible site for a Penitentiary. At this point is a dam and water power of the most substantial character. It is on the line of the Chatham R. R. which I suppose will soon be completed. There is abundant material of sandstone on the river for the erection of the proper buildings, etc.

I regard it as quite possible to make the location of our Penitentiary at Lockville, not only accomplish the chief object of punishing criminals, but developing the coal and iron of Deep River—supplying to our R. Rs. the car wheels and rails, etc. required, and making available to some extent the expenditures of the State in building the dams on Deep River.

If these views strike you as of any value I will gladly

aid you in any way I can in making them available to our State. Deplorable as is the condition of our State I would struggle to the last to renovate her prosperity and save her from the degradation which the present ignoble rulers seem to be providing for her—and knowing that you concur with me in these views, I make you these suggestions, hoping you may turn them to some account.

The report I send you is the only one I have. Notwithstanding the neglect of the Genl. Assembly, I regard it as a respectable feature of my administration—and when you shall have considered its suggestions, I will be obliged to you to return it to me.

To Rev. S. S. Ashley.[1]

RALEIGH *July 16th 1868.*

I received to-day your communication of the 13th inst. covering resolution of the Board of Education, of the 9th inst., authorising you to receive from me "all books, papers and all other property of the Literary Board that may be in my possession.

This resolution seems to be based on the idea that I have in my possession some of the books, papers, or other property of the Literary Board. On surrendering my office as Executive of the State, all such "books, papers and other property" were left in their appropriate place in the capitol, and I am surprised at a resolution which assumes that I retain any of them in my possession. If you need assistance in finding them, my late private Secy., Major Bagley, will give all necessary information, if called upon for this purpose: but as they are methodically arranged in the capitol I suppose the resolution is

[1] Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, a native of Massachusetts, and later one of the most despised of the "carpet-baggers." He had been a member of the convention of 1868.

predicated on the assumption that I retain some of these documents in my possession. I cannot imagine on what this mistaken assumption is based.

RALEIGH, N. C.

To William W. Holden.

RALEIGH *July 16/68.*

I inclose memorial of Protest of Kentucky, transmitted to me to be laid before the Legislature of North Carolina. There has been no session of the Genl. Assembly after the date of this protest, to which I could transmit the same. I place them in your hands to do with them what you deem proper.

To Colonel W. G. Moore.

RALEIGH, *July 16 1868.*

Recommending certain pardons.

I am very solicitous for the pardon of the persons mentioned in your late communication. I am not personally acquainted with them and am influenced only by what I deem justice. Owing to the multitude of the President's cares I fear he has not read my letter. I hope you will not feel that I am imposing too much in asking you to exert yourself in the matter and get the President's attention drawn to it. [*The next few lines are illegible.*] He has appointed as Trustees of the University and Directors of the Asylums for the Insane and the Deaf and Dumb, a miserable set of carpet baggers, negroes and baser natives. We managed to keep up through the war and since, our University and Asylums. Hitherto our men most distinguished for virtue and learning and intelligence have guided their operations. The operations of the University are suspended by an edict of

our Scalawag Govr. and his allies. The old Supt. of the Lunatic Asylum who has most acceptably filled the place from the foundation of the institution is removed and a miserable scalawag, distinguished for nothing save his fervor as a Confederate officer while our army were successful, and ignoble subserviency since to our conquerors, is his successor. Oh my country!! Holden has even issued an order displacing the Mayor and other municipal officers of the City and putting in their place a set of poor devils of his stripe. Our Mayor refused to recognize his authority and an appeal went up to Massa Canby who refused to act until the parties were more fully heard. He still claims to be arbiter—but shows more sense than common in desiring to hear both sides before deciding. I do not doubt that his subservient tools, called the Genl Assembly, will furnish Holden with a military force corresponding to Brownlow's and that the fate of Tennessee awaits us.

Washington, D. C.

To Dr. M. A. Jobe.

Raleigh *July 18/68.*

Neill McKay who sends the within is a very intelligent and prominent citizen of Harnett—has represented his County several times in the Genl. Assembly—was State solicitor for his judicial circuit under the old dynasty—and was re-elected under the new—and the other petitioners are men of high standing in Harnett. I earnestly commend their suggestions to your favorable consideration, there being so far as I know, no other community suffering so badly for want of mail facilities.

To Calvin Graves.

July 27 1867.

Your communication has been forwarded to Dr. John with endorsement from me likely to secure immediate action.

I thank you for the expressions of approval of my efforts to discharge the embarrassing duties of my position. I am sure *you* can appreciate them. I am constantly drifting between Scylla and Charybdis. It is difficult indeed to guide the shattered bark [without?] a word from an intelligent member of the crew, especially amidst the continuous cries of many who seem willing to see the vessel go to pieces, in the hope of enriching themselves of the wreck.

To W. W. Holden.

Raleigh, *July 28 1868.*

Penitentiary matters.

As stated in the within letter from Mr. Wiggins, at the instance, or rather by the order of Genl. Sickles, I summoned Mr. Wiggins, R. Y. McAden and J. C. Harper, Mr. Harper being then Chm of the House branch of the joint committee on Finance, Mr. Wiggins Chm of the Senate branch and Mr. McAden Speaker of the House of Commons, who together with the Public Treasurer and myself, as a board, were directed by this order No. 114, to consider and report upon the expediency, practicability and cost of providing a suitable temporary place of confinement for prisoners undergoing sentence for felony, etc. We were directed "In determining the location to take" into consideration the probable erection hereafter of a permanent Penitentiary and the employment of the prisoners in mining, or other works on metals, quarrying marble, brick making, or manufactures, whereby the Penitentiary may be self supporting and the convicts taught some useful art".

Each of those gentlemen attended one day upon my summons. We considered that we had not the accurate personal knowledge to enable us to answer satisfactorily this wide range of inquiry: and after directing a circular to be sent to our Sheriffs to ascertain the number of felons confined in their respective jails—the length of their imprisonment, etc: and requesting the State Geologist to examine and report to us the condition of the dams belonging to the State on Deep River with the view to use this water power to drive the machinery needful in a Penitentiary; and the probabilities of obtaining iron and coal in the vicinity, and employing the convicts in mining for the same, etc. we adjourned. I have no authority to draw a draft to pay these gentlemen and they were paid nothing.

Before a report was received from the State Geologist and the Sheriffs, Genl. Sickles was removed; and as I had no authority to pay either per diem or expenses to the members of the board, I did not again assemble them.

The State Geologist made a report which is on file in your office and most of the Sheriffs, (perhaps all of them), responded to our inquiries. These answers are also on file in your office, and certainly with the report of the State Geologist much useful information touching the subject.

I think these gentlemen ought to be paid, and that the information we collected ought to be submitted to the Genl Assembly, or at least to the Committee on the Penitentiary question.

To W. W. Holden.

Raleigh, *July 29th 1868.*

Account of repairs of the mansion.

It is known to you and the public that upon the occupation of this city by the military forces of the United States, the Governor's mansion was made the Head Quar-

ters of Gen. Sherman, and that his successors at this military post, continued to occupy the same until the latter part of the year 1867, and that during this occupation the furnishings all disappeared, and the property was otherwise very greatly damaged.

Immediately after the Genl. Assembly in 1867 made an appropriation of $5000. to repair the mansion and supply needful furniture, nearly all of which had disappeared, I applied to Genl. Sickles for possession of the property. After much delay it was surrendered to me in July 1867.

The Genl Assembly contemplated that I would make the mansion my residence as soon as it could be made habitable by needful repairs, and proper furniture should be supplied. It was supposed that the government of the United States would pay rent for its occupation, at least after the President's proclamation that peace was restored; and as the law provided that the Governor, in addition to his salary, should be supplied with a residence, the Governor was authorised to apply for such rent, and to apply the same when received to his own use, to reimburse him for supplying his own residence.

My efforts to get rent have been thus far ineffectual. The Quarter Master here upon my application, reported what would be a reasonable rent, but the Quarter Master Genl. refused to pay rent for State property occupied by the military. From this decision I appealed to the Secretary of War. This appeal was made preceding the efforts of the President to remove Mr. Stanton as Secretary of War, and I have had no response. My correspondence on the subject will be found on file. I have received nothing for rent.

The repairs required consisted of the building of a new barn, which had been entirely destroyed while in possession of the military—the re-fencing of the grounds, new roofs over the principal buildings, re-papering the interior walls, re-painting, masonry, etc. I could make

no discreet contract by the job for this various work. I therefore employed M. B. Royster, of this city,—a gentleman every way competent, to buy material, hire labor and execute the repairs under my direction. I agreed to pay him $2.50 per day. He has performed his duties, as I think, with remarkable judgment, fidelity and economy, and I am now ready to exhibit his account accompanied by vouchers, to any committee of the Genl Assembly appointed to receive the same. The whole appropriation has been expended in repairs; leaving nothing for the purchase of new furniture.

The wall paper was purchased at wholesale prices in New York—and Mr. W. T. Clemson, of this city, employed to paper the walls. Towards the wind up of the papering, Mr. Clemson informed me there was a small deficiency of paper, which, upon my request, he supplied, amounting, as by his bills filed with me, to $29.10—and Mr. Royster's account, also filed with me, with accompanying vouchers, shows a balance in his hands of $7.75, which I have directed him to pay over to Mr. Clemson, which will reduce the amount due Mr. Clemson to $21.35 for the payment of which I hope the Genl Assembly will make provision.

I collected and preserved what furniture I could find, which I will surrender to you on application.

I drew the $5000. as follows—

For repairs of furniture	69.30
For purchase of wall paper	668.86
Drafts in favor of M. B. Royster as follows:	
Sept. 5th 1867	1000.00
Oct. 25 "	1500.00
Jan. 17 1868	1761.84
	5000.00

From B. G. Worth.

NEW YORK *Aug 1/68.*

The deed is reported all right and Clerk says it will be registered and returned to us soon. I have letter from Baxter in which he says he will concur in a sale if one can be made. I have not yet struck the right man to take it in hand and sell it, but think I can when the way is all clear about title, etc. I am disgusted and alarmed at the desperate course pursued by your successor. The present rule is ruin certain and if Seymour and Blair sweep the country and Reconstruction is all reverted and upset—may we not have civil strife in its most terrible form. The contest will be heated and the Democracy certainly has the inside track this far. You may look out for this State. You will agree with me in my estimate of our Brooklyn Lawyer Henry D. Murphy who drew the Platform. He is a noble man and in his Sterling Sense and moderation presents to my mind much such talents as I have always attributed to you. I did not speak of him however with a view of wedging in a *compliment* to you. I am proud of him as a citizen of *Conservative Brooklyn.*

From J. Henry Foust.

REED CREEK, N. C. *August 19th, 1868.*

Our county has just had a visit from you, her most honored son, and many a heart has felt a thrill of gladness in clasping you by the hand and in listening to the tones of your voice which has ever been raised in defence of the rights and interests of your constituents. I, myself, can testify to such a feeling, and having inherited from my late lamented father a measure of his implicit confidence in you, I can as far as my immature judgment

and faculties are capable, appreciate the unselfish devotion you have always exhibited, and your arduous labors in behalf of constitutional liberty—the priceless legacy of an illustrious ancestry. And altho' I am painfully impressed with the idea that some few of your old friends in Randolph, from wide estrangement in political views, *no longer* regard you as such; still, I hope and *believe,* that during your brief stay amongst us, you found *many,* aye, *most of us* to be *personally,* if not *politically,* your *staunch, unchanging* friends. And as regards the former class, a reflection comes up and I am prompted to inquire, *Where are they going?* Our countryman; our Ex-Governor stands on the sound platform that he did when *they left* him seven years ago and aided in breaking up the Government, and now we find them drifting in a channel which diverges still more widely from his, and we repeat with emphasis and anxiety—*where are they going?* God grant that it may not be to the same dread realities which have once fallen to our lot.

I hope, sir, that you may enjoy in quiet, the blessing which health, prosperity, influence, and a devoted family are able to bestow. Under ordinary circumstances I would not presume to trespass thus on your patience, but remembering from your own declaration that you are somewhat at leisure, and having had old recollections forcibly brought up by your presence amongst us, I am constrained to indulge in the foregoing and trust that you will not misconstrue my motives, feeling and knowing as you *must,* the high estimation in which you are held by all the good people of North Carolina. And I am confident that were my father living, he would concur with you in the line of policy to which you adhere, and would heartily endorse the principles of the conservative party. *Personally* my aims for life have not as yet been definitely fixed. With an incomplete education and contracted means, I find myself unable to pursue the specific course intended for me; but have never

despaired of being able to enter my chosen profession (Law) even if I have to do so under the difficulties, which, from the present standpoint, loom up before me, and I think it wholly impracticable for me to continue my collegiate course *now,* and have thought lately of *teaching,* which will, I believe, tend to further my plans more rapidly than the business in which I have recently been engaged.

Any suggestion which may be prompted by your ripe Judgment and wide experience, and any counsel and encouragement which you may give will be duly appreciated. I don't know of any local news which will interest you. My brother returned a few days since from a visit to Mr. Wm. Long and reports that he is in a fair way for recovery. His health and faculties are rapidly restoring and his family entertain lively a hope of his recovery. Our district clubs are organizing. We have a meeting in Franklinsville Saturday for that purpose—Expect Mr. Robins down. Our corn is looking fine and warrants our anticipation of a bountiful crop. The family are all well. Sister Emma has gone to live with Sallie at her home in Pitt Co. My regards to your family.

To Josiah Turner.

RALEIGH, *Aug. 20 1868.*

Discussion of the Congressional nominations.

On my way home from Asheboro I spent two days with my son-in-law J. J. Jackson at Pittsboro. A number of gentlemen there urged me to accept a nomination to run for Congress against Deweese. In reflecting on it since I am of opinion that I could be elected over him, and being entirely out of business I think I would not decline the nomination if the district convention should tender it to me—but I think—I do not *know*—that Mr. Pell will not favor it.—He prefers, as I think, the nomi-

nation of Mr. Argo or some other candidate, not barred by the Howard amendment, and I regard it as probable that the nomination will be very likely to be much influenced by his views and I fear will result in the re-election of Deweese. The floating vote consists of the old Union men and negroes, many of whom would vote for me and will not vote for a new man. I would be very far from accepting the nomination if a man more likely to be available shall be suggested. It seems to me that either you or I would be the most available man in the district, and if you would like to have the nomination I will most willingly further your wishes.

Think of this and let me hear from you. If you think proper consult with Gov. Graham and any other reliable persons and let me hear from you.

Unless there shall be good men suggested for this, I think there is much danger that primary Democracy will run us into the error we committed in the nomination for Govr. and Lt. Gov.

[P. S.]—I don't believe Williams, who desires the nomination, would do at all. Would it not be well for Orange to give the ball a start in the right direction. If it starts here it will probably start wrong.

Hillsboro.

To A. S. Merrimon.

Raleigh. *Aug. 21/68.*

I have had about enough respite from business and am casting around for something to keep me busy. When at the bar I was well known to the principal mercantile houses in the Northern cities, doing business with North Carolina, and had a reputation which gave me much lucrative business in the collecting line. If I were to resume practice in the several Courts and in the Supreme Court I am persuaded claims in all parts of the State

would be confided to me. It has occurred to me that you and I might form a law partnership here mutually beneficial, my part of the business being chiefly office business.

I submit the suggestion for your consideration.

Mr. Swepson, when I last saw him, was meditating the plan of getting up here a Savings Bank, on a large scale and offering me the Presidency—And many persons in this Congressional district are urging my name as the most available candidate against Deweese. I must go into something which will yield me some income and am considering of these several projects.

I write simply to present the project of a law partnership with you for your consideration. I now think I would prefer it to any other plan of business which has occurred to me.

I think I could be elected over Deweese, and doubt whether any other name can be used, so likely to succeed—but several young men—Williams—Argo and others seek the nomination and would probably be active, while I shall be passive—and would not accept unless there shall be unanimity in the call on me. I would prefer the proposed partnership with you to a seat in Congress, but feel that I ought not to refuse the use of my name to beat Deweese, if our friends should be unanimous in their call on me—which I deem improbable. The democrats will prefer an original Democrat over me, if they deem themselves strong enough.

Asheville.

To Montgomery Blair.

Raleigh, *Aug. 24th 1868.*

Political conditions in the State.

I have recently travelled in my own conveyance over several of the Counties in this State where radicalism has taken strongest hold and made four public addresses in some places—and from my intercourse with the people and every other source of information, I entertain no

doubt that a large majority, will vote for Seymour and Blair. But we know that Holden and his minions will appoint base men as poll-keepers at nearly every precinct and his special militia will if possible be used to overawe the timid: but in view of the fact that now, and in 1865 when I ran against Holden for Govr. every judge of our Courts—every Justice of the Peace, municipal or R. R. officer, and every other State officer, including sheriffs and constables, is a radical and will exert his influence to sustain the power under which he holds office, we contend against immense odds and feel intense anxiety. Through the agency of our members of Congress and other means the State will be flooded with Radical documents, while we are so poor that we can't supply counter documents. We have the speaking talent which will be exerted as far as possible. We are so impoverished that few men can afford to pay travelling expenses of going from point to point to make addresses, while the unscrupulous men have charge of our R. Rs. will give free tickets to the scalawag orators, domestic and foreign. If we had money we could use it in many legitimate ways with great effect. One of these ways would be sending campaign news-papers to many persons likely to be influenced by correct information. Another would be the paying of the traveling expenses of speakers such as Govr. Vance and many others I could name. The money cannot be raised among us. The object of this letter is to ask you if some money cannot be raised for us among our Northern friends.

Our people are becoming thoroughly aroused and determined to shake off the Tyranny which oppresses us—and I feel confident we shall carry the election even without money—with such aid as I hope may be extended to us from our Northern friends. I am *certain* we can succeed. Any sum which may be sent to me for this purpose I will undertake to see used in the most efficient way to accomplish the end.

Washington, D. C.

From W. T. Dortch and G. V. Strong to W. E. Pell.

GOLDSBORO, N. C. *August 24, 1868.*

We enclose fifty dollars partial advancement of Gov. Worth's expenses to Washington, and the letter to him, in response to yours of Friday last. We regret that we could not send it yesterday—hope, however, it is not too late.

Yours, etc.,

W. T. DORTCH.
GEO. V. STRONG.

[P. S.]—We can raise more if you think we should. For the sake of secrecy we have only approached a few reliable citizens.

From Citizens of Goldsboro.

GOLDSBORO, N. C. *Aug. 24th 1868.*

Asking the removal of negro troops.

The citizens of this vicinity are under apprehensions for the peace and quiet of this region of the State, in consequence of the concentration of the 40th Reg. of U. S. colored troops at this point, and would be gratified if you can go to Washington and prevail on the President to cause their removal. We apprehend difficulties in consequence of the action of the Legislature and Gov. Holden. Many of the colored people desire to vote with us, but are overawed by the colored troops and are in fear of their lives if they cast their suffrages with us. We would be pleased to have any number of white troops among us, and believe their presence would tend to preserve the peace.

We make these representations in behalf of the good people of this section of the State, who are for order and a free, unbiased, election. You are possessed of full in-

formation of the condition of affairs in our State, and consequently we deem it unnecessary to say more.

Very truly yours,

Wm. T. Dortch
Stephen W. Isler
L. W. Humphrey
George V. Strong.

From William Clark.

Economy Wayne Co. [Indiana] *8th mo. 28/68.*

It has bin so long since I heard anything from thee, there has bin so many changes and revolutions in your State since I last heard from thee which if I remember right (not having thy letter before) was just before the Election for your Governor Congress members, etc, which resulted in quite a change of your rulers (it may be I had better say your office holders) as judging from what we hear the same party that has heretofore held the offices still to a large extent rules. I have had nothing from any reliable source in regard to political affairs except what your newspapers give which is not always reliable how does your people feel in regard to the nominations of the two parties for president how will N. C. vote in the fall Elections. What is thee ingaged in and what is thy prospects for the future how is thy health and that of Aunt Matitia and all the children. we would like exceedingly well to see you all Louisa and I had some little notion of visiting you this Fall but have about given it out, as part of my object was to look after my old debts there and from what I hear I could not collect enough to pay the expence of the trip so that I guess we shall have to abandone it I learn that some 4 or 5 thousand have availed themselves of the benefit of the bankrupt law in N. C. and amongst them many of my old customers have

gone under. I was glad to hear, Addison had bin able to clear up all his securities from any liabilities on his account. I would be very glad to hear of Addisons recovering and making money. how is Milton suckceeding in his mining enterprise. How is your crops in N. C. the crops in the west are good and with some little prospect of a foreign demand we are looking for fair prices, so that if it was not for our everlasting extravigance and pride in our Country would improve rapidly in that that might be useful but we have abundance of that here to the neglect of those important persuits. Our family are well except Bazilla who has bin a little under the weather for the last day or two we have had a remarkably healthy summer until within the last week or two there is considerable sickness Jonathan is going night and day the last two weeks. Will you ever get the Rail Road through from Fayetteville to High point it is most surprising to us how the build R. Roads through this Country they get up a railroad project here and in two or three years it is in operation there are many miles of R. Road built here every year so that there are not many points in the state but what are comparatively easy of access by Rail.

I suppose though there has never bin in the world a rail Road that has bin put through as the one now building through to the Pacific that they now think will be finished in 1869 I saw today in one of our papers that they had something over 2000 hands imployed and in additions to that many kinds of machinery for the prosicution of the work. We have had an exceedingly hot summer more so than any for the last 30 years so say our men who keep the record. I felt it to be more oppressive than anything I had ever experienced. We had a letter from Archibald Worth some time back saying he expected to take him a southern wife some time soon and talked of paying us a visit how is the thing progressing we would be glad to have the visit. I sat down to write to thee without having anything to write so that it will

not be interesting of course so I conclude and remain most affectionately thy brother.

[P. S.]—I would like to hear from thee at thy convenience.

To _____ [1]

RALEIGH *Sept. 30/68.*

* * * * * * *

from the military yoke which the North imposes on us. The South evidently now desires peace and fraternity on the basis of the Constitution of the United States and the North should learn wisdom from the parable of the father and his prodigal son. Our condition is deplorable enough and continually growing worse—to satisfy the malevolence of the Devil himself and it is as unchristian as it is unstatesmanlike to continue the course which will inevitably result in intensifying sectional hate and to pile up burthens upon those who thus seek to govern us.

To William Clark.

RALEIGH *Oct. 1 1868.*

* * * * * * *

Br. Milton has reached rich ore in the Hoover mine and is in high spirits as I learn from Sam Jackson who was here yesterday.

I regard it as about *certain* that North Carolina will vote for Seymour, notwithstanding the negro vote and the immense influence of Holden's patronage, who has filled every office in the Rail Roads and every civil office under the State and the municipal corporations, with his creatures. Political forecasts.

[1] First page of letter illegible.

If Grant be elected there is no hope of a change in the policy of the government. The army must be kept up to the present strength, and the present incredible burthens of taxation must be increased instead of diminished—and the bitterness increased, which is always the result of military domination. Every body at the South desires peace and fraternity with the North and is ready to submit to the laws of the United States, enacted in conformity with the Constitution, and every body having the instincts of a man, detests a government, which, by the sword and the negro votes, elevates over us a Holden and his vile followers. The *present* policy of the United States is that so long persisted in by England towards Ireland, which has kept up, by an inflexible law of human nature, for many centuries, the undying hatred of every Irishman towards England and has made Ireland a burthen upon the body politic. By the same law of nature, Northern policy will make the South as hostile to the North as is Ireland towards England, and you will hold us as a burthensome appendage, an enormous burthen upon the national treasury, by keeping up here at all times, as at present, a great national army. The election of Grant is a continuance of present policy—a retaining of your provinces in subjection by the sword at enormous expense to the whole nation.

The policy of Seymour would hold the parts together by fraternal concord—would cut down the army and navy—and enormously diminish the public taxes. I pray you to apply the principles so touchingly taught in the parable of the father and his prodigal son, to our national condition.

Economy, Indiana.

To Lewis W. Worth.

RALEIGH, *Oct. 4 1868.*

I thank you for your letter of the 16th ult. covering your photograph, which was recd yesterday.

I send as requested two more copies of my inaugural address of Dec., 1866 and my address to my constituents in 1861 and circular to the people in June 1866. These will give you an idea of my national politics. I am not a politician by trade. My ultra opposition to secession made me for a time exceedingly unpopular. I abhor Secession—still more do I abhor Radical Republicanism—both intended to engender sectional hate. The prominent features of Republicanism of late are the so called reconstruction acts, in which the conquered States are put, by means of the sword, under negro domination. At our late election here a military satrap appointed all the pollholders. All male negroes 21 years old were allowed to vote and nearly all the white men who were distinguished for intelligence and the possession of any property were denied the right to vote—the result is we now have for Governor one who had taught Secession all his life, and a set of vile wretches in all the important offices of the State, who, for office, pretend to be recent converts to Radicalism. Our most notorious Secessionists are whitewashed by Congress and then elected by the negroes and the ignoble whites, who co-operate with them for office or through cowardice. The consequence is that all men whose conduct is controlled by manly and honorable impulses are in private stations and the negroes and kindred spirits are our rulers, while the whole nation is enormously taxed to keep up an army and Freedman's Bureau to carry out the devilish party schemes. The pretence that military power is necessary to preserve order and execute the laws is a lie.—I think the Devil never had a fitter set of instruments to execute his will than the Republicans of the present Congress: As Grant

endorsed these measures he will get no votes here save from negroes and white men who have lost the instincts of gentlemen. I did not run for re-election under this mockery of the Constitution, the private station being now the post of honor in this State.

Family matters.

I would be glad to hear from you when you removed to California—are you married—what is your occupation? Have you brothers and sisters? Where are they? I kept no copy of the letter I wrote you and do not remember how fully I went into the Worth genealogy. I am the oldest of my family. Sister Ruth C. Porter, widow residing at Greensboro, N. C. is the next oldest—J. M. Worth Asheboro, N. C. is third in age. He is a merchant doing a prosperous business. J. A. Worth, Fayetteville, N. C., was a merchant before the war. Sherman's army burned up his warehouse and destroyed his means of paying his debts. He is very poor but making a good living. B. G. Worth, the fourth brother, is doing a heavy and prosperous business as a merchant at 188 Pearl Street N. Y. I have three sisters in Indiana, Miriam, wife of Barney Coffin, pork and beef merchant, Indianapolis—Evelina, wife of Nathan Sennes, farmer—and Louisa, wife of Wm. Clark, farmer and merchant. Both of these live at Economy, Wayne County, Indiana. Their husbands are in very independent condition and their children prosperous and promising. I lately paid a visit to them. I have but one son, David G. Worth, who is doing a very large and prosperous business as a merchant at Wilmington, N. C.—and five daughters—the oldest a widow, whose husband was a wealthy planter and died before the war. By the emancipation of her negroes she and her little ones are left comparatively poor—three other daughters are married to lawyers of good standing in the State and the other to a doctor.

Your uncle David was a tanner by trade, but long years ago made this occupation secondary to merchandise and farming. He lost a good many negroes and other prop-

erty by the war, but was out of debt and is comparatively wealthy and his children well educated.

From this hasty sketch you may infer that your kin are generally in prosperous circumstances. Not a blemish spot upon any of the race as to integrity and honor, so far as I have ever heard. The most illustrious of the race was Genl Worth, renowned for his achievements in the Mexican war.

——— California.

To A. C. Cowles.

Raleigh. *Oct. 7th 1868.*

You will have understood that for the past year I have not enjoyed my usual good health. I had been accustomed before I came here, to going to Courts, attending to my farm and other multifarious duties requiring much exercise in the open air; and I, and my physician, attribute my ill health to want of this accustomed exercise, bad [*Word illegible*] and a staid sedentary occupation. I resolved on an extensive tour through the North and West, and set out about the last of Augst. and travelled by easy stages to Washington, New York, interior of Connecticut, back to N. Y., up the Hudson to Albany, then by Rochester, Niagara, Troy, Buffalo and Cleveland to Indianapolis; and home by way of Cleveland, O., Wheeling, W. Va. and Baltimore. I was out about a month and for the past two weeks have been perfectly well. I refer to this to explain my delay in answering your kind letter of 18th Aug.

The trip, too, not only restored my health but afforded me constant pleasure with no alloy save the depletion of a purse not well filled and continually sinking without any accretion.

I presume the day of your proposed mass meeting in Yadkin has passed, and consequently that I shall not have the opportunity of being present.

In North Carolina are settled all my children. Here I wish to live out my days—but under the vile government now forced on us in which villainy and ignorance are rampant, and the highest judicial functionaries are sunk into semblance of manhood in ignoble subserviency to partizanship and ambition to retain their offices, I see no hope for the future, if healthy basis cannot be restored to public sentiment. I am ready to do what I can do to avoid the necessity of flying from my native State in my old age. Present financial plans, besides the overthrow of integrity, must soon destroy the property holder and result in anarchy and further Revolution. I shall persevere, while I can see any hope in resisting the demoralization and the ruin it must produce, and to this end shall attend public meetings where I may hope to be useful.

I am invited to a mass meeting in Wilkesboro on the 27th inst. and will be present if possible.

At what price can you furnish me on R. R. a bbl. of good whiskey or brandy. A good article of apple brandy suits me as well as whiskey. A pleasant prescription of my physician is a continuance of my old habit of using moderately whiskey or brandy of N. C. manufacture. This indulgence, at Raleigh prices, draws too heavily on a lean purse.

My hopes of defeating Radicalism two weeks ago were rather depressed. My hopes are now bouyant as to National success and still more so as to State success.

HAMPTONVILLE.

To C. B. Dibble.

RALEIGH *Nov. 11 1868.*

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I am in despair for my native State. I regard the election of Grant as a national endorsement of the Congressional plan of re-construction, which is confessedly based

on the ground that we are to be treated as without the pale of constitutional protection and to be treated as conquered provinces. With ignorance made the basis of legislation, instead of intelligence, I have no ground of hope in the early future.

NEW YORK CITY.

To A. L. McLean.

RALEIGH. *Nov. 12th 1868.*

I have carefully considered yr. proposition submitted to your County Courts providing a plan for paying your County debt. If they intend to make provision for paying the debt, the plan proposed is as favorable to the County as any citizen could expect and I can conceive of no reason for *delay* in carrying it out. *Indefinite postponement is equivalent to repudiation.* I beg you to urge action. I will fund as proposed but desire to know soon what I am to depend upon.

[P. S.] The sinking fund should be invested in the purchase of yr County bonds at their market value.

FAYETTEVILLE.

From W. F. Leak.

ROCKINGHAM *Dec. 9/68.*

Asking for photograph.

I am about collecting a "Gallery" or "Group" of my most distinguished contemporaries, (of *such* men as Ruffin, Manly, Browne, Edwards, Graham, and others) for placing in a frame of men who have the moral courage "to do right, regardless of any outward pressure", yes of such men as "had rather be right (as H. Clay once said,) "than to be President".

What the country and even the world now wants is "moral courage" the resolution to be and do the right, re-

gardless of consequences, such men we once had and a few still remain, but they will shortly have passed "that Bourne from which no Traveller has yet ever returned".

I should be pleased to have the likeness of my old Quaker friend, and ask you, to send me by letter your Photograph.

From W. H. Bagley.

Raleigh, *Decr. 14th, 1868.*

We received your letter of the 10th, night before last as, also, one from sister, and were glad to hear you were, at least, as well as when you left, and that Mrs. Worth, sister and children were all well. We regret your business detained you so long, and trust you will soon dispose of it to your entire satisfaction.

The creditors of the Bank of N. C. have postponed the appointment of an Assignee until next Thursday. I have no further indications as to the person likely to be selected, save that Swepson informed me, on last Friday, that the delay was favorable to you—as it was caused by failure to select one of the rival factions among the creditors and that he thought each party would have to agree to a compromise, and you were most likely to suit all the parties, so, if you are selected, you will not be the *choice* of either and, hence, will be independent of all. I have no doubt in my own mind, if the friends of Mr. Mordecai do not refuse to sustain you, you will be chosen, as, I am confident, you are Swepson's choice as a compromise.

Tell Sister I will attend to the *"Sentinel"* matter for her today.

Sister Elvira will reach here Thursday, as, I believe, I wrote you before. She says, in her letter, she will be unable to go to Wilmington and Sister's, as she had originally intended. So, if Sister wishes to see her, she had better come home with you.

Your hogs are pretty fat and in a good killing condition Mr. Buffaloe thinks, and so I think too. Your corn has given out and I had to purchase some this past week, at 80 cts. per bushel. They eat nearly half a bushel a day, and, I am sure, their increased weight will not pay for the corn they will hereafter consume at that price. If you remain at Sister's longer than this week, as Sister intimates in her letter, you will hardly finish the dam in that time, it is, perhaps, worthy of consideration whether you had not better authorize us to kill them. Addie has some misgivings, however, as to her competency to attend to *trying* the lard, etc. You must not attribute this suggestion to any *peculiar desire on our part for spare bones* or any special *yearning* after sausage meat as Addie and myself have been contenting ourselves with oysters, and wishing, at the same time that you had a gallon or two at Sisters.

Your old hen in the stable, had fixed-up to *set*—having 15 eggs—and we had to take them out to prevent her. They will be kept separate from other eggs until your return. The other hen had half a dozen eggs under her, and, this morning, I found them all frozen and five of them bursted. Tell Mrs. Worth she has two hens in the egg business, and we hope to have a dozen or two for her when she returns. Tell her I have spent two whole Sundays trying to find her guinea chicken's nest, but to no purpose.

I believe I have told you everything of a domestic nature worth relating—except the fact that Zilpha has drawn two *overcoats* from the *Bureau*. Addie sends love to all.

To J. M. Worth.[1]

Raleigh *Dec. 25 1868.*

* * * * * * *

Plans for removal to the Northwest.

Consequently in effecting sale I hoped to promote the secondary interests of yourself, Makepeace and my other Randolph friends, and enabling myself to buy Minnesota or California lands or business which I might regard as more profitable, or at all events more agreeable. I continually think it is better for all of us to sell out at *any sacrifice,* and move to Minesota or California where the States are out of debt and common schools and universities paid for out of the National Treasury, and R. R.s built every where out of the public lands. Here, it seems to me, negro drones and their baser allies, will eat out all the honey in the hive. I see no hopes for an honest man.

I am out of money or employment, old, and in bad health, and I view things through a distorted eye.

To H. G. Leisering.

Raleigh *Jan. 7th 1869.*

Information as to North Carolina.

Ill health and other engagements have prevented a prompt reply to yours of the 1st inst.

I think I have such thorough knowledge of the subjects of your inquiries that I can answer without any fear of leaving your or your friends into error.

First you ask what is the character of the people resident in the Counties of Caldwell, Burke, McDonald, Yancy, Wilkes, Watauga and Ashe, their habits, condition, and feeling toward Northern people generally.

The people of these Counties, as of all the Western Counties of the State, are quiet, law-abiding agriculturalists and have not [*Word illegible*] no repugnance to

[1] The first page of the letter is illegible.

a Northern man on account of the place of his nativity, but *cordially* receive all emmigrants who come here to co-operate with us in building up our shattered fortunes—but a large portion of them detest butterfly generals and others who come here to get the offices, our best men being disqualified for office by teste oaths, the Howard amendment, etc. *This* class of immigrants all good men detest. The kindest feeling exists towards all Northern men, who are honest men settling here to do business and not for political objects.

Second. What is the proportion of colored and white persons in the counties named, and how do they mingle socially?

The large proponderance of population in these Counties is white. You can ascertain the proportion by the last census more accurately than from any other source. The better class of whites in these Counties, or elsewhere, do not recognize negroes as socially their equals, but the rights of property and personal protection are entirely secure and political franchises to which they have become entitled under the re-construction laws, are every where respected, however distasteful to many of our people.

Third. Are the white and colored people disposed to labor where work is offered them and are they equally disposed to work with and for parties from the North and South?

I answer distinctly—yes. All laboring for wages here, white or black, are poor and improvident. Any amount of labor can be had of either color, by men who pay promptly by *the week* or by the *day* and at very low wages.

I consider your fourth inquiry substantially answered.

The idea that any prejudice exists here, growing out of the late conflict, which would operate to the prejudice of Northern capitalists, who may come here or invest their means for legitimate business purposes is without color of foundation. Of course vaporing men, unnecessarily re-

proaching us with the late war and abusing our representative men, would act unwisely and to some extent become unpopular in many localities, but even they would be personally safe, unless outrageously rude. No exception is taken against a Northern man who may respectfully maintain that the North was right and the South wrong—but a discreet man would maintain his position respectfully and temperately.

Our people universally desire such immigrants as you describe and they would be received not only courteously —but cordially.

Philadelphia, Pa.

To William A. Graham.

Raleigh. *Jan. 9th 1869.*

Frank Wheeler, a son of Jesse Wheeler, the father well and favorably known to you I presume, desires to be appointed assessor of Int. Rev. in the Greensboro District to fill vacancy soon to occur by the resignation of his father. I know him well and have recommended his appointment to Prest. Johnson, as a young man well qualified—of exemplary moral character and more acceptable to the respectable people of this district than any person I know who can take the teste oath and be confirmed by the Senate. He belongs to a class of men in Guilford who voted for Grant, but who detest Holden, Deweese, Tourgee & Co. and who do not approve of the reconstruction measures. His competitor, as I understand, hopes to be preferred on the ground of superior loyalty. Mr. Wheeler thinks anything you can say for him, based on my recomendation or other source of information (he says you do not personally know him) would be likely to benefit him.

If you think proper to say anything, and I suppose any Guilford gentleman will confirm my representation, I will forward what you may say to him.

To George W. Rose.

RALEIGH, N. C. *Jan. 13 1869.*

In reply to your inquiries I regret to say that I cannot with proper candor advise you to come to this State in the hope of bettering your condition by the employment indicated. The intelligent portion of this State are barred by the legislation of Congress, and the powers of making laws, imposing taxes, etc. placed in the hands of the negroes, carpet baggers and their baser allies—and consequently the better classes are depressed and all enterprise paralysed. Ignorance and corruption are the striking characteristics of our men in authority. I would like to see worthy immigrants settle here, but I cannot honestly advise a man doing well in N. J. to come here. I am no Secessionist—never was—just the reverse.

To William Clark.

RALEIGH, *Jan 14 1869.*

* * * * * * *

I have not changed my political views. The election of Grant is an endorsement of the Reconstruction measures. They have forced upon the South universal negro suffrage and the disfranchisement of the most intelligent and virtuous of our people—and filled our Legislative halls and all other offices with negroes, carpet-baggers and baser native white men, who have allied themselves with the Radicals for a share of the spoils. These measures produce the very opposite of fraternity between the North and South. The North, with the bayonet, has forced the South, to incorporate these iniquitious provisions in our Constitutions, which cannot be altered without the concurrence of two-thirds of the voters. *All* the negroes and only the more baser and ignorant of the whites being allowed to vote in most of these States—and in all of them

Political opinions.

the best and most capable men by the Howard amendment and iron-clad oath, excluded from office State or National, with a standing bribe offered us by Congress, to get the disabilities for holding office removed by turning Radical. The election of Grant, by a *majority* of the people of the U. S., *including* the negroes and *excluding* the disfranchised whites, but by a *minority* of the white men of the U. S., is an approval by all who voted for him of those violations of vital principles of Republicanism and the Constitution of the United States. The patriotism which once animated the people is fully merged in greed. Money has become the God of this country, and men, otherwise good men, are almost compelled to worship at her shrine. The evidence of this is found in the facility by which the National Legislature and all the State Legislatures are bribed by money or controlled by corrupt rings. I regard Andrew Johnson as the Cato of the U. S.

I do not concur in your views that the election of Grant is not to be regarded as sectional. The reason you assign is that many of the Southern and Southwestern States voted for him. He did not receive a majority of the white vote in one of them, notwithstanding the iniquitous disfranchisement of a vast number of white men—and you know the negro vote was controlled by Northern organs and influence. A vast majority of the whites voted against him, scarcely a respectable white man voting for him, who did not expect office as his reward. Such as Pearson, Reade and many others I could name.

Grant is not elected by a majority of the Constitutional voters of the U. S. Three States were not allowed to vote at all and the show of an election in the other States of the South was a mere mockery of an election.

I expect as we all do, to submit to and obey the powers that be—but I cannot expect Grant to repudiate any of the Reconstruction series, save such of them as were enacted to restrain the President from executing his Constitutional functions.

Unfettered by party, I think Grant would make a good President, but he cannot honestly break the fetters with which he sought to be bound to the most wicked party which has ever controlled this nation.

What is the repentance which you exact of us as a condition of forgiveness? Is it that we repent our resistance to the U. S.? No—the only evidence of repentance you exact is to become a Radical. Witness Holden, Rodman, and thousands who were ultra Secessionists. Any body can get forgiveness who will declare for and vote the Radical ticket. This demand of repentance is in exact accordance with your entire legislation. I and Graham and a large majority of the whole population of N. C. resisted Secession until the Nation could not protect us. Any of us can be pardoned if we will declare ourselves Radicals, the only evidence of repentance you will accept. I neither ask nor will accept forgiveness on these degrading bases.

Since the old Whig party went under, there has been no party to which an honest, good man could cordially attach himself. We have been forced upon a choice between evils. We have honestly differed as to what was the lesser one. I hope you were right—but in view of the alliance between Grant and the Reconstruction policy which I regard as entirely subversive of the Constitution of the U. S.; highly detrimental to the whole Union and ruinous to the South, I look upon Grant's election as a great calamity.

I did not intend to allude to National politics until I took up yours of the 13 Nov. to which this is intended as a reply. I lately got into correspondence with Lewis W. Worth, in California. He is a son of my cousin Zeno Worth. In a late letter from him, while he does not intimate his political status, he regards the politicians of the U. S., so corrupt, that the moon every time she passes over us, would hold her nose. I regard the idea as a good one, and believing there is now no chance to abate the nuisance, the best thing we can do is to hold one's nose and

say nothing—and I think I shall in future, as I have done for sometime past, keep silence on the subject.

If my health become sound, I think I shall try to convert my property into money, at what it will bring, and go into Minnesota or some other place in the Northwest, and buy a ranch and try to colonise my children around me I regard it as certain that there is no ground for hope of right here for some generations. If I do this, it will be for my children. I am too old to move for my own account, and would much prefer going South than North, but for the negro.

Economy, Indiana.

To Fred Wolsroth.

Raleigh. *Jan. 14 1869.*

Owing to my very bad health, the fact that I had been turned out of office under the reconstruction laws, and therefore had no control over the documents you desire, and other causes yours of Oct. 15 was laid aside and overlooked until to-day.

I send it to Gov. Holden, who, I hope, will comply with your request.

I inclose descriptions of a tract of land in which I am chief owner, large enough for a little colony—with at least 750 acres of it of remarkable fertility—150 acres of it cleared and capable of producing immediate crops of cotton or corn—And the rest covered with valuable timber and within seven miles of flat navigation.

The purchase money could be paid in installments.

[P. S.] All the representations you see that loyal persons and foreigners are not well received here are lies disseminated with partizan designs. All immigrants who come here with the honest purpose of making a living by honest pursuit of their vocations are cordially received.

We have no affection for the vile carpet baggers who come here to rule over us by favor of the poor deluded negroes and the vile natives who co-operate with them for selfish ends:—and even these carpet baggers are not molested.

NEW YORK CITY.

To B. G. Worth.

RALEIGH. *Jan. 15 1869.*

Dangerous tendency of State legistature.

This State is being driven into bankruptcy and Repudiation in a gallop. Untold milions of our bonds, payable in gold, are being put in market and sold at a price in currency equivalent to less than 45 cents on the dollar in coin.

The most shameless corruption and wanton extravagance mark all the legislative and executive proceedings. The ring, speculating in State bonds, may carry through a revenue bill to meet the interest on the State debt, so as to raise the price of the these bonds and sell out at a speculation, but that revenue bill must quite more than quadruple the expenses we have paid since the war. There is no money in the Treasury for any purpose. $325,000 due for coupons payable 1 Jan. int. About a like sum will fall due on 1 Apl. to which must be added the ordinary expenses of State government and building of penitentiary, etc. If this revenue bill must raise $1,000,000. to be collected and paid in the Spring; and to meet interest falling due in July and 1st Jan 1870, at least another million must be collected and paid in next Fall, or the purposes of the bond ring will fail and the wheels of the State machinery stop. The heaviest amount raised by any Rev bill since the war is about $400,000. The ring and the interests of officials in getting their salaries will probably pass a bill imposing this quintuple tax: but if it pass, the next Legislature will be composed of a majority in favor of out and out repudiation—but the enor-

mous expenditures on the R. Rs. etc produce some enterprise in the localities where the expenditures are made. The State's bonds to the amount of $1,200,000. have been loaned to the Chatham R. R. Co. Their road was graded to or near Haw River during the [war?] This State aid has enabled the Co. to resume operations. They are rapidly laying down iron and will speedily complete the Road to Egypt. This will insure the value of your land on Deep River, if the fear of taxation should not paralyse agricultural enterprise here. I do not doubt but the land may be sold at a fair price now or shortly and I believe J. J. Jackson is the best agent that can be found here to effect a sale. I have gone into this explanation to enable you to decide what is best for your interests. If you decide to sell, I think you had better fix on a minimum price—and make him a power of Atto. to sell, looking for his compensation to what he may get above your minimum. He tells me he is now authorised by you to sell so much of your land as lies South of the road running between Lockville and Egypt, which he says is very poor land, giving no external evidence of value for mining. As agent for the owners of the Klegg Copper mine, he has effected a sale, by which he makes some $1000. for himself and he is negotiating a sale of his copper mine, which he reserved when he sold to you. He has made a conditional contract of sale, which he is confident will be made absolute, at some $6,000. for his interest, and embraces in this conditional contract for your benefit, 100 acres of your land South of said road, at $10.00 per acre.

My health has been poor for the past six weeks—not so bad as it was when I was with you, but all the time suffering in the old way. For the past two weeks, I have staid at home—dieted—and followed Jonathan Clark's prescription and have improved until I am nearly well —but you will see in my tremulous writing that I am not perfectly restored.

Roxana's affairs had become deplorable, by reason of

a complete failure of crop of 1867. She was out of corn by 1 Jan. 1868 and had to buy all last year. Her mill dam had broken twice and she had incurred heavy expenses in two abortive efforts to repair it. Many of her hogs and cattle had been stolen, etc. She was getting dangerously in debt. I staid a month with her and personally supervised the business operations in repairing her dam. It gives promises of being effectual and I have made such changes in her operations as will enable her to pay her debts at an early day. It was terrible effort for me. My mental condition and personal anxiety were injurious to me in my feeble condition.

* * * * * * *

I have no income save what comes from my factory and boat stock and a little money bearing interest. My taxes for State, County, corporate and National and support of my family exceed this income. This is annoying. I see no means of avoiding this state of things and am patiently waiting in the hope of getting well and for something to "turn up".

There is now a strong probability that Major Bagley, who has been on his oars for six months, will be elected Clerk of the Supreme Court. The office is worth at least $3,000 a year. He is admirably fitted to fill it, and would be likely to retain it permanently.

To Lewis Hanes.

RALEIGH *Jan. 17 1869.*

Some three years ago I advanced, through our friend Dr. Jones, a small sum to aid you in getting under way with your newspaper. My understanding was that it was a loan to you and that you were to give me your note. I have not received your note and kept no memorandum, and do not remember the amount or date of the transaction or

whether it was to bear interest or not and do not know whether I ought to remit to you for your paper since I ceased to be Governor or not. The matter will be adjusted according to your recollection and understanding—and you will oblige me by letting me know how the matter is. Since I retired from office, I have gone into no business and have no income save from a few investments yielding less than my unavoidable expenses. If it was regarded by you as a loan and it be inconvenient to you to pay, you must not take this as dun, but only as desiring you to send me your note. I desire to have it adjusted according to the understanding at the time which you and Dr. Jones will remember and which will be satisfactory to me.

You will have observed that the *Sentinel* is publishing some of my correspondence touching the military administrations of Sickles and Canby. I notice that the Wilmington *Journal* is re-publishing some of them with the remark that "as a matter of history alone these letters are most valuable. As a matter of justice to Gov. Worth these letters should be published". Should you take this view of the subject, I point out some important errors of the *Sentinel* press.

In the letter published in the *Sentinel* of the 14th Jan:, speaking of statements made to Canby by Tourgee and others the printed copy has it "copies of which were sent to me." It should be "copies of which were *not* sent to me". In the letter published on the 15 Jan. speaking of the victim of the rape and her daughter who witnessed it, I say neither of them was summoned or examined and at this "homes in the *county—County* is printed "Country." —And further on I quote from the report of the Court of Inquiry the words "The woman's husband was engaged in overseeing slaves." They have substituted the words *"splitting staves"* for *"overseeing slaves"*.

In my letter published in the *Sentinel* of the 16 Jan. touching Tourgee, no error occurs.

These letters are not published at my request or upon my suggestion—but I am gratified that they are being published and regard the remarks of the Wilmington *Journal* as just; and as the *Sentinel* proposes to publish other the editor has consented to allow me to read and correct the proof sheet.

As to the republication of them in your paper I make no request—but should you deem it expedient to publish them, I suggest that these mistakes be corrected.

SALISBURY.

To Engelhard & Price.[1]

Personal

RALEIGH *Jan 21 1869.*

Concerning the publication of his letters.

I have been gratified at your commentaries on the extract from my letter to the President. I entirely concur with you that they furnish in the most reliable shape, a historical record of the devilish despotism under which we lived during my administration and I confess that I felt a strong personal wish that the public should know that I did not meanly cringe for the mere purpose of retaining office. It is matter of pride to me that I in no instance, asked these tyrants *to do anything,* but I was continuously struggling to get them *not to do.*

I could not furnish any part of this correspondence to the press when it was occuring without incurring immediate dismissal from office. This I deemed it was my duty to avoid as long as I could hold my place with dignity. On one occasion I asked Genl Canby for his consent to publish our correspondence touching the subject we were then discussing. He refused his consent.

The publication of these letters now, is not at my instance, or upon my suggestion, but I confess my gratification that it is being done. Many of my letters will disclose important facts not generally known to the public. Hitherto I have not supervised the publication and

[1] Editors of the Wilmington Journal.

some important errors of the press have miscarried the sense. For instance in the Granville rape case, the Military Court of Inquiry, by way of mitigation or excuse for the negro, say, in a written report to Genl Sickles, that the victim of the outrage was of bad character, and in fact "her husband was engaged in *overseeing slaves* and was in the rebel army". It is printed splitting slaves. The error I greatly regret. Of course the error occurs in your re-print. I shall endeavor to get permission to read the proof hereafter.

In the copy of Canby's letter to Grant, which the former sent me, he did *not* furnish me with copies of the exhibits which accompanied the letter to Grant, such as the affidavits of Tourgee on which he justifies the arrest of Griffith:—and the documents on which he bases his reflections on the Legislature and the Judiciary. This was an omission. The word *not* is omitted in the printed copy, whereby I am made to say these exhibits were furnished me.

In the last number published—my letter is dated Decr. 31 1868 instead of 1867—and the word "power" substituted for "however with comma after it, which makes nonsense—And the word "appelation" substituted for "appellate".

I furnished the copy of my Tourgee letter published in the *Sentinel* of the 6th. inst. It is correctly printed Whether you intentionally omitted insertion in your paper or not, I do not know. I regard it as one of the best of the series and should be pleased to see it in your paper. It defeated Holden and his crew in getting Canby to make Tourgee a judge and drew from Canby an apologetic letter which will hereafter appear, with my reply calling his attention to an injurious falsehood, in his letter which he *knew was false,* for which he made no excuse.

Should you continue the publication of these letters the Tourgee letter ought to be published to render intelligible others which will follow.

To John Pool.

RALEIGH. *Jan. 25 1869.*

Regarding the governor's mansion.

You know the salary of Governor in this State for years before the war was $3000. a year. When I was governor it was made $4000. in view of the depreciation of the currency.

In addition to his salary Rev. Code Chapter 55 Sec. 14 provides that he shall be furnished a residence, and time out of mind his house has been furnished at the expense of the State.

At the time of my election and inauguration the Governor's mansion was occupied as lodgings of the U. S. military stationed here, and during this occupancy the houses, fences, etc. were so damaged or destroyed that I could not occupy it until very extensive repairs were made, the making of which could not be completed until I was superceded by operation of the Reconstruction laws: So I never occupied the mansion. Nearly all the furniture had evaporated.

In 1866 the Genl. Assembly passed a resolution (I have not the resolution before me) directing me to apply to the proper authorities of the U. S. for rent for the occupation of these buildings, and to appropriate whatever might be allowed in consequence of the State's failure to supply me a mansion. I was advised that the proper mode of presenting the claim was through the Quarter Master's department and I accordingly presented it to Capt. Aiken, in the year 1867. He reported it to his superior Genl. Tyler, stationed at Charleston, which report approved by Col. Bomford, military commandant here, that $125. per month was fair rent for it. This report was forwarded by Genl. Tyler, as he informed me, to the Qr. Master Genl. I learned from Genl Tyler that it was not allowed on the ground that he was not allowed by law to pay any rent for State property occupied by the military, after the pacification. I had personally seen the gentleman at the

head of the Qr. Master's department in Washington (Genl. Meigs was absent), who told me the claim, as he thought, would be allowed, at least as to rent which accrued after the President's proclamation of peace. I could hear nothing further from it. I was never notified what became of the claim and I wrote to Secy. Stanton, but got no answer. It has occurred to me that your official position may enable you to ascertain the status of this matter, and whether there is any chance for the allowance of this claim.

[P. S.] We all highly appreciate your zealous and effective efforts in getting Major Bagley to his very appropriate and desirable position.

Washington, D. C.

To Perrin Busbee.

Raleigh. *Jan. 25 1869.*

Your late letter expressing your gratitude to me for my efforts to get you into the position you occupy, was duly received and was most gratifying to me: gratifying because I have always regarded you as a worthy descendent of your excellent ancestry, and at the same time free from the vanity and affectation which often disqualify me to appreciate merit otherwise entitled to my regard. I regard you as eminently deserving of the efforts I have made for your advancement, and as far as I am concerned the consciousness of duty performed, in this as in all my actions, personal or official, is sufficient reward: but your appreciation of my efforts for you is the surest guaranty that you will leave nothing undone on your part but avail yourself of the advantages of your position and thus lay the foundation of a successful and honorable career in life. Aim always at the highest standard of virtue and honor as the surest road to self esteem and enjoyment and real

greatness—And notwithstanding the many examples our times furnish of villainy rewarded by the attainment of high places, always so act as to retain your own self esteem, and this consciousness of rectitude will reward you, even if an undiscriminating public shall not duly appreciate you: but virtue and honor, nearly always bring their reward in the way of public appreciation and honor. Never allow any apparent present advantage to make you do an act not strictly honest, upright and honorable.

If Providence should grant me lengthened years, it will be most gratifying to me if I shall hear that you have followed this advice from one who will always feel a deep interest in your public career.

My health has been poor for more than a year: not severely but almost all the time disqualifying me for active business. I have been slowly but regularly improving for the past month and hope I may ultimately get well.

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND.

To Engelhard & Price.

RALEIGH. *Jan. 27 1869.*

Concerning matter for publication.

I am greatly obliged to you for your frank and friendly letter of the 23rd inst. and at an early date will furnish you with some material for the friendly commentary you propose to make after the conclusion of the publication of my official correspondence. My interview with the public induces me to believe that the intelligent portion of our people read these letters with much interest, both on account of the fact that they disclose much of the working of Reconstruction, in authentic form, not previously published, and because they show (what I could not disclose through the press at the time) that I did not meanly truckle to our military rulers, but did all I could to mitigate the severity of the infernal despotism which hampered me.

I understand Mr. Turner will continue to publish after the conclusion of my letter to the President, a number of others addressed to Genls. Robinson, Sickles and Canby—but they will appear only occasionally, as current matters may allow.

If you publish these letters in your weekly, with correction of the typographical errors I have indicated, please send me a dozen copies and let me know how much I owe for them.

The object of this letter is to submit to you the reasons of my action in the matters to which you frankly say you were violently opposed. You will see I could not prudently vindicate myself at the time, through the press, and the continuous pressure of public duties did not leave me time, through other channels, to post my friends.

As to Norfleet—Ever since Norfleet, Dockery, Dick Settle, Rodman, Pearson, Reade, etc. gave in their adhesion to Reconstruction and courted the negro vote for office, I have viewed them with positive loathing. I abhorred to nominate Norfleet upon his participation in the negro Convention here. Entertaining these sentiments you naturally ask why I nominated him over such distinguished gentleman as Judge Howard and Gov. Clark, who were my personal friends and who had zealously advocated my election over Holden while Norfleet voted against me. I have always maintained that Howard ought to have been re-elected judge and I had always felt and still feel towards these gentlemen high personal regard, nothwithstanding they are alienated from me.

At the time of this appointment, I knew, from the most reliable sources of information, that Holden and his minions were using their utmost influence over Genl Sickles to induce him to assume control over the public works of the State and that Sickles was lending a favorable ear to their importunities. If I had then nominated [*Here follows a page which cannot be read.*]

I had long been satified that the prominent stockholders

of the R & G. R. R., had managed, in favor of their Road, to control the management of the N. C. R. R., to the prejudice of the State. Mr. Webb, also though a worthy gentleman and my friend, concurred in this management. While he continued to be President of the N. C. R. R., or any other man of ordinary nerve, I thought this management could not be changed. I regarded Jo. Turner as a man who had the capacity and the nerve to shake off this thralldom and decided to nominate him as a Director in 1866, hoping he would be made President. I did not deem it proper to exact any promise from my appointees as to their vote for Prest. In looking over the directory of the N. C. R. R. for a number of years I found Wilmington the chief commercial town of the State and whose citizens had contributed with lavish liberality to the building of this Road, had not been accorded a director. I decided that Wilmington ought to have a director. The time was at hand when I had to act. In looking over the Directors I had settled upon, I found that only one of the seven, in the old organization of parties, was a democrat, although I had not thought of party in fixing on their nomination. I went to Wilmington and upon my invitation held a conference with a number of your prominent citizens, among whom I remember Mr. Engelhard, Genl. Ransom, W. A. Wright, O. G. Parsley. I stated to this meeting that I wished to give a Director to Wilmington, and that I preferred he should be a democrat to protect me from the reputation of having made partizan selections. They agreed on Mr. Strange and I appointed him. He voted for Mr. Webb, as President, who was elected, and the policy I condemned, favoring the R. & G. R. R., as I thought, to the prejudice of the State was continued.

Among the Directors recommended by me for 1866-67 was Mr. Boyden. Although he had been an appointee of Holden in 1865—had been made president—and had grossly neglected his duties, under all the surroundings I deemed it expedient to re-appoint him a Director. I believed he would vote for Turner. He voted for Webb.

Out of 12 meetings of the Directors in 1866-67, Mr. Boyden and Mr. Strange were very rarely present. In 1867 I nominated Mr. Coffin in place of Boyden and O. G. Parsley in place of Mr. Strange, putting the discontinuing of the gentlemen upon the ground of their neglect of duty. The new appointees, as I hoped, though I had no pledge, voted for Turner, which resulted in the change of management manifestly promoting, as I thought, the States's interests.

I know of no one for whom I feel a more cordial personal regard than I do for Mr. Strange, but I thought then, as I do now, that the interests of the State would be better advanced by the appointment of another. According to my views then and now, the interests of the State and your town were promoted by the election of Turner. I mean no reflection on Judge Strange. He, no doubt acted, as I know I did, according to his convictions of duty. The discontinuance of both Strange and Boyden, both at the time, my friends, was a painful duty, but I submit that even if I erred, I erred on the side of my convictions of duty to the State.

As to the appointment of Martin, I have only to say that I knew nothing at the time as to his personal or political antecedents, save a representation from some parties and personal friends whose letter is among the Executive files, I believe, that he was a gentleman of means about to visit Paris. There was no compensation attached to the appointment and no political significance belonged to it. I gave the matter little consideration—and issued both to him and Genl. Clingman, who was about going to Paris, a commission. I afterwards learned that there was a blemish on the moral character of Martin, which our friends, about the same time, deemed venial in another distinguished citizen of your town. I may have erred in this apointment, but coupled with the appointment of Genl. Clingman I submit that it ought not to subject me to violent censure.

Although unwell and writing with difficulty I have made this prolix explanation because I have the highest regard for the ability and dignity which always distinguish your Journal, and although I regard my political course as run, I desire to remove, what I regard as an erroneous impression as to my official conduct. I regard your course in forebearing from injurious comment under your convictions, as springing from manly and noble motives, of which few men are capable.

WILMINGTON.

To Engelhard & Price.

RALEIGH. *Jan. 28 1869.*

Sloan and Jones fraud.

You once mentioned to me that you had the documents relating to the theft of Sloan & Jones, laid up for publication whenever Jones should again seek public preferment. That time has come. No time should be lost in printing them and having a copy placed in the hands of every voter in the district. The Conservatives or Jones' competitor should pay you for it. With this disclosure before him, no honest voter can support Jones.

You may use editorially any of the facts stated in the narrative which I herewith inclose. Would it not be well for you to address Kemp Battle in relation to the facts set forth in the latter part of this narrative? The amiability of my friend Battle has led him to exhibit too much leniency, I think, towards these villains.

To the Editors of the Wilmington Journal.

RALEIGH *Feb. 3 1869.*

Not seeing my letter touching Tourgee published in yr paper, I fear Mr. Turner may have failed to send you his paper containing it.

The fact that such a wretch is made a judge under reconstruction and at the same time made a Code Comr., drawing a salary of some $5,000. from the State Treasury is a very striking exhibit of the workings of reconstruction.

The fact that Holden was using his influence with Canby to appoint Tourgee a judge, was apparent by the editorials of the *Standard*.

This letter defeated the scheme. It exhibits some of the mean crouching, on my part, to which so many at that time, actuated with what I regarded as short sighted and ignoble views of expediency. It extorted respect from Canby, as exhibited in his reply, which Turner will probably publish.

I am a little proud of the clincher with which I wind up the array of names I cite to prove Tourgee's bad character, to-wit—"Thos. Barley, freedman, Greensboro, N. C.: As much as to say, if these names will not satisfy you, Genl., I close with one you can't fail to respect.

To——————[1]

AT HOME *Feb. 3 1869.*

Jones fraud matter.

A. J. Jones is a candidate for the Senate from Bladen, Brunswick and Columbus. The editors of the Wilmington *Journal* ask me to send them a copy of the communication I sent to the Genl Assembly touching the cotton speculation of Sloan and Jones. It was printed in the Legislative Documents of 1865-66, of which I have no copy. Will you lend me your or procure one for me? The Editors promise to return it. Being quite unwell I deem it imprudent to turn out to procure it.

I think I remember that in a subsequent account rendered to you by Swepson, Mendenhall, & Co. the State was debited with $500 claimed to be advanced to Jones, on

[1] Probably Kemp P. Battle.

account of the cotton then in transitu sold to Jones and Sloan. Was this $500. paid to the State? If so, who paid it? If I could prudently go out, I would see you instead of addressing to you this note.

[P. S.] Please send me the document to which I refer by the bearer.

To E. B. Drake.[1]

RALEIGH *Feb. 3 1869.*

Concerning the publication of his letters.

You will have observed that the *Sentinel* has of late published certain official letters of mine and that some of his exchanges are re-publishing them with complimentary commentaries. Among them is the Wilmington *Journal* —a paper with much ability—This paper remarks "as a matter of history alone these letters are most valuable: As a matter of justice to Gov. Worth these letters should be published". If it should be your purpose to publish them in your weekly will you correct certain errors in the printing which I will indicate, please send me a dozen copies, informing me what to pay you for them.

My letter touching Tourgee in the *Sentinel* of the 6 Jan. is correctly printed.

In my letter published 14 Jan., towards the middle of it, speaking of the statements made by Tourgee (A) and sundry reports (B. C. D.) furnished to Genl. Grant I am made to say "copies of which are sent to me" It should be "copies of which were *not* sent to me". I have never had a copy of these papers. The error is a very important one. While Genl Canby professes to send me a copy of his letter to Genl. Grant, he does *not* send me a full copy. These exhibits were the essence of his letter. They are suppressed. I and the public would gladly see them. It was impossible to reply to his expressions, the facts on which he professes to rest them being withheld.

[1] Editor of the Statesville American.

In the letter published in the *Sentinel* of the 15th Jan. speaking of the victim of the rape and her daughter, who witnessed it, I say neither of them was summoned or examined, although both were at their homes in the County "County" is printed *"Country"*: and further I quote from the report of the military Court of Inquiry the words "The woman's husband was engaged in overseeing slaves. The printed copy has it *"splitting staves"* instead of *"overseeing slaves."* This is a terrible error.

In my letter relating to Provost Courts the printed copy has it "copies of which were sent to me". The word "not" between "were" and "sent" is omitted, entirely changing the sense.

In the letter published Jan. 15 the printed copy makes me say the victim of the crime and her daughter who witnessed it were in the *Country*. It should be *County*. The error takes away the significance of the remark.

Further on the printed copy has it the woman's husband was *spitting slaves* instead of *"overseer of slaves."* This error is terrible.

In the paper of Jan. 20, latter part of paragraph preceding the last it is printed *which power arrogant* etc. It should have been which *however* arrogant etc.

In the last paragraph, *appelative* should be "appellate".

I am certain these letters are read with much interest by the best and most intelligent men in the State.

STATESVILLE.

To Josiah Turner.

RALEIGH *Feb. 8 1869.*

I send herewith a document I should never have prepared if I had anticipated the amount of labor it has required.

I accompany it with the letters from which I derive the facts.

If you shall deem the article too long for publication, you can use such facts derived from it as you think proper.

I desire that it be so managed as not to bring me prominently before the public. There is nothing in the liquidation by which these facts were ascertained which I may not honorably avow—but I wish at present to be quiet.

I am persuaded the facts will surprise your readers—and that their publication will benefit your Journal and promote the public interest.

If the entire table can be published without occupying too much room, it will be much more impressive than the summing up, without the details. Let me ask you to read it carefully, and then act as you deem right.

To E. B. Drake.

RALEIGH *Feb. 14 1869.*

Concerning the publication of his letters.

I send you one No. of the Wilmington *Journal* containing my Tourgee letter and 8 Nos. of the *Sentinel* containing my letters to President Johnson.

These letters, as I think, present in authentic form some of the monstrosities of reconstruction, which are worthy of preservation as a part of the history of the times—and it seems to me that their publication is due to me—as well as to those who made me Governor of N. C.: but I know how prone we all are to over-estimate our own productions and hence I have not directly or indirectly asked for their publication. I have noted in pencil certain typographical errors affecting the sense materially. I believe they will be read with much interest by your patrons; but I would not have you publish them to the exclusion of matter which you may think likely to be more acceptable to your readers. I have reason to feel gratified by the numerous expressions of approbation which reach me from the class whose regard I appreciate—as well as at the silence of the degraded portions of our press and people who

from cowardice or baser considerations lick the hands of the poor devils who have ascendency over us.

I thank you heartily for your generous offer, if you publish these letters corrected, to furnish me with some numbers of your paper containing the corrected edition. I have no copies than those I send you. I would be glad to re-place them in my file if you can use them conveniently without mutilation.

To Thomas Wilcox.

Raleigh. *Feb. 16 1869.*

In my correspondence with Genl. Canby touching your removal and the appointment of your successor, etc. he sent me a very long document from one of his subordinates purporting to explain the grounds of his action. In the vast amount of duties I was then called upon to perform, I could not, with my clerical force, make you a copy. The document is on file in the Governor's office and I can have it copied and send you the copy, but will have to pay some $5. to the copyist. It has occurred to me as possible that you would like to have the copy which tends to explain the machinations of your enemies. If you do not care to incur the expense of the copy it will be unnecessary that you answer this note.

Trenton.

To John Pool.

Raleigh *Apl. 9 1869.*

Concerning rent due on the mansion.

I had hoped that I might be paid some house rent by the Genl. Assembly in lieu of my right to a furnished mansion. A bill was pending to allow Gov. Holden $1000. for furnishing his own house. I did not occupy the man-

sion during my term, commencing 28 Dec. 1865 to date of my removal July 1/69, because I could not get the military to surrender it to me till 17 July 1867 and the remainder of the time was required to repair it. I thought I was as much entitled to rent as Gov. Holden, who *voluntarily* declined to occupy the mansion. But the Genl. Assembly, to avoid putting my claim on the footing which it would have and instead of allowing him $1500. rent, raised his salary to $5000. As it is about certain that I would not be allowed any thing I do not care to expose myself to a refusal, and shall not present the claim—but desire to press the claim before the proper authority of the U. S. The Genl. Assembly authorised me to prefer this claim against the U. S. and to apply what might be allowed to my own use, in lieu of the mansion to which I was entitled by law. I preferred the claim for rent to the Qr. Master here. He reported, as he informed me, that $125. per month was a reasonable rent for the buildings. The mansion was occupied by the chief of the military and Freedman's Bureau here. They and their subordinates occupied every room in the main building and all the out houses. Col. Bomford, Commandant of this Post approved the report of the Qr. Master. This for the 18 months of military occupation would amount to $1875. This report was sent to Genl. Tyler, at Charleston, the superior officer of the qr. master here. He told me verbally that he approved it as to amount and forwarded it to the Qr Master Genl., but stated that he did not think it would be allowed, because the department has decided to allow no rent for the occupation of State property. At the suggestion of Gen. Tyler I addressed a letter on the subject to Sec. Stanton. He did not answer. As to the action of the Qr. Master Genl. I am not informed. As to the occupation of the mansion, I was as much entitled to it by law, as I was to the Executive offices in the Capitol. Its detention was a wrong to me. The Genl. Assembly having authorised me to ask for rents and appropriate the

amount to my own use, I can perceive no color of equity in withholding the rent from me.

My object in this recapitulation is this. I presume your appropriate duties leave you no time to look after claims of this sort—and if so I would have you employ an efficient claim agent at a commission on the amount he may collect, to be agreed upon between him and you, to press this claim, if the facts stated, all of which I can authenticate, entitle me to anything. And to this end you may place this letter in the hands of such agent, with a view to direct correspondence between such agent and myself.

[P. S.]—I regard the tenure of office bill as unconstitutional and likely to injure in its effects—and think therefore it should be repealed. The amended act I regard as equally objectionable.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Josiah Turner.

RALEIGH *Apl. 23/69.*

I inclose thirteen dollars—$3. for weekly *Sentinel* to be sent to Jesse G. Henshaw—New Salem—via High Point: He would like to have his subscription begin with that containing your account of the intended assault on you at Depot by J. Holden and others, if you have the back numbers.

$5. for B. Moffitt—Asheboro, for daily *Sentinel.*

$5. for my subscription from time you became proprietor.

From John Pool.

WASHINGTON, *May 3, 1869.*

Concerning rent due on the mansion.

I presented your claim before the Sec. of War, and was by him referred to the Qr. Master General. I laid the

facts before him. He is not, at all, favorably disposed. But holds back his decision for further inquiry, etc. He promises to give me or you his decision in writing before many days. We can then see how the matter stands, and can prepare a case, with all the facts, dates, etc. clearly stated, and then take it before the Attorney General—or if an Act of Congress be necessary, before that body, at its next session. But I still hope for a favorable answer from the Qr. Master General.

I thought it best not to call in any lawyer or claim agent in this City until after hearing from the Department, and being able to see whether such aid is necessary.

If we have to call in a lawyer or claim agent, I think the best is the firm of McLellan & Benedict, 448 Fifteenth St. But you may see better about it when the Departments have been heard from.

I shall leave the City in a few days, but expect to return in July, or perhaps, June, and spend most of the summer here.

I will cheerfully render any aid in my power in this matter.

To E. B. Drake.

Raleigh *May 18 1869.*

I went over to-day especially to inquire into the suit against you for $4000. Confederate money which you borrowed from the Bank of N. C. near the close of the war. Mr. Dewey showed me a copy of a letter he lately sent you touching the matter. Presuming you have received his letter I need not state its contents. On his terms you can compromise or settle at $1.00 in $50. Yr. acceptance fell due in May 1865 when Confederate money was worth nothing. On his terms you can get rid of the demand for some $100. in present currency; and the costs of the suit. You say you tendered payment in Con. currency and that

it was refused—Whether this tender was made *before* or *after* your debt fell due, you do not state. Upon the facts before me I can not advise you whether it is best to compromise on the terms proposed by Mr. Dewey or not.

Accept my sincere thanks for the accurate printing of my letter to the president. I hope the space occupied, was warranted by the matter and that the publication has been acceptable to the readers of your paper.

I desired to pay you for the extra numbers of yr. paper, covering this letter, which I have duly recd, but you declined to receive pay.

I inclose $5. which you will please credit to me in such way as you think proper—and if you need any further interposition in the suit against you, wherein I can serve you, command my services.

Statesville.

From F. M. A. Drake.

La Prairie, Ills. *July 8/69.*

I desired to pay you for the extra numbers of yr. paper, and am truly sorry to learn of your indisposition. I am in hopes by this time you are rapidly improving, and will soon regain your health. I was apprised of the death of your daughter Mary—and that of your grand-children. I receive the *Sentinel* and *American* every week besides letters almost as frequent from friends, and consequently I am pretty well informed of matters and things in my dear old Native State. And I can assure you that there is no citizen of the State at present that feels any greater degree of *contempt* for the Mean Scallawags and carpetbaggers there than I do, I do sincerely hope that the people of the State may be enabled to realize their condition while under the control of such thieves and scoundrals, and that they will immediately take steps to put them from place and power. There has been a great deal said about traitors but, the Meanest

traitors in the world are those that betray their own country, and people, for a few paltry greenbacks, (Judas like). I think Holden is *corruption deeply corrupted.* There is certainly no deeper depth of infamy to attain than he has already attained, it would seem that like one of old, he would "be eaten of worms" for his wickedness.

I am glad to learn that you have good crops in North Carolina, and other Southern States. I am always glad to hear of the prosperity of the South. But it is not the case with us here in Illinois, the corn which is our main stake is an entire failure, and the wheat crop will certainly be lost unless it ceases to rain immediately. It has rained here so much this spring that the farmers could not plant a full crop, and the worst of it is they have never been able to cultivate what they did plant, and it is still raining. When it will cease we don't know. The times are gloomy with us, altho we have a considerable quantity of old corn and wheat on hand, so that we will not perish.

* * * * * * *

William H. Bagley to Dr. H. R. Noel.

RALEIGH. N. C. *Sept. 13th 1869.*

Notice of Gov. Worth's death.

Governor Worth died about eleven o'clock, Sunday night, the 5th inst., as you have, no doubt, been informed by the news-papers;—and I write at the request of Mrs. Worth, to express to you the deep feelings of respect and regard, which she, and all her children, entertain for you, for your kind and unselfish attentions to the lamented dead, while under your treatment. They all feel that his death was, in no wise, attributable to any fault of yours. Indeed, they have the satisfactory assurance that you did all that skill and kind attentions could do, under the circumstances. The recollection of these kindnesses will be cherished with the memory of the departed, and your name

will be remembered in the prayers of bereaved hearts, as that of one "who had a heart to feel for other's woe," and a hand to help.

The Governor often spoke of you before his death, in words of admiration of your kindness, of your devotion to your patients, and of confidence in your skill. *He is now gone,* and *we,* alone, are left to thank you and pray for your happiness. Our pathways are far apart; but should occasion ever bring you near to them, be assured that the doors of those, who in life were dear to him they now mourn, will be opened wide to you, and their hearts, also.

Trusting that Providence may long spare you to do much good, and to acquire that reputation in your noble profession, which your merits deserve, I subscribe myself,

Rockbridge Alum, Va.

APPENDIX.

The following letters were found too late for insertion in regular order:

To John L. Holmes.

Jan. 21 67.

I hope you will not hesitate to act under the commission which will be handed you by Genl. Seawell whom I hereby introduce to you.

I wish you not only to act with him on the special cases referred to but also in a case in Johnson County to which he will call your attention.

I will recommend and the Genl Assembly will no doubt readily pay you not only your expenses but as much as they pay themselves—say six dollars per day for the time you may be engaged in this service. And as our treasury is very lean I hope this compensation will be satisfactory to you.

I inclose to you copies of correspondence touching the cases in New Hanover & Robeson.

WILMINGTON.

To P. H. Winston.

Jan. 22 67.

I have recommended yr friend Erasmus L. Simmons as a fit man to be appointed surveyor of the Port of Windsor, N. C.

WINDSOR.

To Joseph A. Worth.[1]

Company's Shops
Sunday, Apr. 22/65

I parted from David in Raleigh at about noon on last Wednesday week. I hope he got safely to Roxana's, but have not heard from him or my family since. My intention then was, the R. R. North & West of Greensboro being cut by the enemy, to have the State wagon train pushed out to Morrisville there to meet the train, have the State valuables aboard—and to escape with them to your neighborhood. The State wagoners ran away and others could not be supplied till Wednesday night—Sherman being then in 6 miles of Raleigh. The wagon train was then directed to push forward to Durham. It made such slow progress, not being able to pass the army trains, that it had not reached Durham at sunset Thursday night. It was then too late to risk escape by the wagons. Raleigh was occupied Thursday morning and Thursday night the advance of the enemy was at Morrisville and its Depot fired by our rear-guard. I then moved here, and after waiting till 4 o'clock, P. M. on Friday and the wagons not coming up, moved on to Greensboro.

On Tuesday before the capture of Raleigh Gov. Swain came to Raleigh, and it being understood that Lee with his army had surrendered, Gov. Swain urged upon Gov. Vance that further resistance was vain and that he ought to ask Sherman to suspend hostilities under a promise that he would call the General Assembly and recommend a restoration of the Union. The Gov. asked Gov. Graham by Telegram to go down for consultation. He arrived in Raleigh at midnight. Gov. G. and Gov. S. who had previously agreed on this plan urged it upon Gov. V. I was posted as to all this on Tuesday night. On Wednesday morning, I saw Gov. V. alone. He told me he could not concur in their plans—I suggested to him then

[1] Received too late to be inserted in proper chronological order.

whether he could not send Gov. S. and Gov. G. under a flag of truce to ask protection for the Capitol and a suspension of hostilities with the view to a general pacification. Gov. G. came in soon after, intending to leave for home by the next train. Gov. V. asked him if he would consent to go. He said being a member of Congress, he doubted whether the enemy would not hold him a prisoner—that he had left home suddenly and ought to return home to provide for the approach of the army. I urged upon him that he alone could save the Capitol from pillage perhaps from destruction—and that he ought to incur the hazard and inconvenience. At this stage my duties compelled me to withdraw from the conference. Gov. G. and S. were soon after dispatched with a flag of truce and special train, but without any permit to pass our lines.[1] On reaching Genl. Hampton commanding the rear guard, he would not allow them to pass his lines, until he could hear from Genl. Johnson who was then, as I understand, in conference with Prest. Davis at Greensboro. The President refused to let them pass. In the meantime the rapid advance of the enemy caused a change of the picket lines by which they fell within the lines of the enemy and Kilpatrick captured them and claimed them as prisoners of war. They were carried to Genl. Sherman's headquarters who received them courteously—decided that having entered his lines in good faith they should return in good faith. He refused to suspend his march after the Confederate Army but gave assurance in writing of protection to the city and all State officers and State property and allowed the Governor and all the State officers to return and remain unmolested in their offices, with all the State papers, restraining us not to go more than 12 miles from the City.

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1 This is a mistake. The commissioners had gone with Johnston's approval and with a pass from General Hardee. For a full account see Spencer, *Last Ninety Days of the War*, pp. 142-4; Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 91-4.

Gov. V. regarded this as a sort of prison bounds, as to him, and would not have accepted the privilege, and the Confederate authorities would not, and will not to this time allow us to return.

On last Friday week, the advance of the enemy being near Hillsboro and Genl. Johnson's at Greensboro, the enemy having previously captured Salisbury and burned up vast stores there belonging to the Confederacy and the State, including all our State clothing—also High Point and Salem,—the Prest., with a guard of 300 cavalry left Greensboro. About the same time a flag of truce passed between the armies, and Genl. Johnson went down and met Sherman. An armistice, applying to all the troops this side of the Mississippi was agreed upon and it is understood that terms of peace have been agreed upon. Rumor says these terms are generous towards us and are awaiting ratification. The army would have rapidly melted away but for the hope of an honorable discharge. The war is at an end whether the terms are ratified or not. The vast supplies along the R. R. are destroyed, wasted and consumed and our troops supplied by foraging parties.

I have no doubt that my family and property at Raleigh is all safe—but fear I have lost my teams, wheat at Pittsboro, and cotton in Anson.

I have been suffering from a bilious diarrhœa—am much improved but not well—and awfully worried at being senselessly detained here by our own authorities. The bridge at Jamestown is burned,—also the University bridge near Hillsboro, and the bridge over the Catawba, the former by Stoneman, the two latter by our troops, and nothing being done to repair them for want of laborers.

It is unknown here where Davis is—or whither he has gone. We have rumors that he has returned to Greensboro. Fears are entertained that the assassination of Lin-

coln will prevent the ratification of a treaty favorable to us—It was a criminal and unwise act.

Arch, Graham, son of Archd. Graham near your place, is here, well and sound. Report this to his father.

Tell David Anderson that Mr. Wiley[1] is with me and well but awfully homesick.

John[2] called at my house as the army passed Raleigh. I did not see him. The family reported him well.

I saw Alex McAlister at Greensboro last Saturday—well and sound. Bingham[3] was captured with Lee's army, well and on his way home on parole.

I wish you to get this letter to David and Roxana.

Having leisure, I have given you a long narrative. Possibly many of its facts may be already known to you.

Lee's returned men will have given you the particulars as to his surrender. Grant behaved nobly. He refused to receive Lee's sword or his parol—and shed tears when Lee tendered his sword.

The foregoing embraces all the reliable facts of importance which occur to me. I will not relate the rumors on every breeze.

Johnson's retreat from Smithfield to Greensboro was evidently made with the view of forming a juncture with Lee, and hence he made no halt at defensible points. It was conducted with his usual skill—and his men in good spirits and ready at his command to go into the fight.

Our Cavalry are apparently without discipline—the terror of everybody as far as I can hear, who has a horse or a mule within twenty miles of the line of march.

Either peace must result very soon from the present armistice—or a resumption of hostilities. In either event we ought to accept at once the permission to put our State archives in the Capitol. I can conceive of no one so obstinate and reckless as to refuse the privilege to us to

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1 Philip A. Wiley, his chief clerk.

2 John Worth, a son of Joseph A. Worth.

3 Robert Bingham.

return them except Davis. Gov. V., who is at Greensboro, sends me a telegram that Genl. Johnson refuses to let us pass the lines. I presume he acts under orders from Davis and hence infer that he is still in this State. If he is the ruling spirit, I expect no peace except by the dissolution of the army and the ruin of what little is left us worth preserving;—Gov. V. however in the same telegram says, "Settlement soon expected."

Fayetteville.

To Mrs. Roxana McNeill.[1]

Raleigh *Feb. 12/68.*

* * * * * * *

At present my removal from office is less threatening than it has seemed to be for the last two months. The news is that Ala. had defeated the Radical Constitution. The political aspect, excepting Congress which daily becomes more savage, is rapidly growing better. The future is still dark, but less so than it has been. I can't go into details.

P. S. General Canby and Staff arrived here. They immediately made a complimentary call on me. He seems very courteous. My late correspondence, I have reason to think, has extorted from him more respect than he has been exhibiting heretofore.

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[1] Received too late to be inserted in proper chronological order.

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